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MARCH 1953

# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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# THE EDITOR *loquens* DICENDA TACENDA

Why *sapientia*?

TO THE GREEKS, wisdom seems to have been etymologically the salutary thing. Socrates finds it, in the *Protagoras*,—as being with *sophrosyne* the opposite of the same fault (and a thing can have but one opposite)—a virtual synonym of that quality. In the *Iliad*, on the other hand, Agamemnon is said to be in a turmoil with destructive thoughts.

But it has always been to me a curious fact, as it appears, that the Romans derived *sapientia* (though broadly contrasted as philosophic with the merely shrewd and self-seeking *prudentia*) from the gustatory—as if we were to call the ignorant and foolish ‘insipid.’ We do generalize taste in aesthetics. The line between the two words is not of course sharply drawn: a fragment of Cicero, “*Est sapientis providere*,” the colloquial “*si sapis*,” “if you know what’s good for you.”

Apparently, then, this high wisdom is named from one of the lower senses, becomes the eponymous sense. Lower, I say. One would naturally think that vision and hearing, through which we become aware of literature, art, music, are of a loftier order than tasting, smelling, touching. (And no one need remind me of Aesop or St. James on the inter-dependence of our members.)

To be sure, to the mundane Romans or to anyone, it has been obvious that tasting is involved with one of our two instincts, the two which merge in self- and race-preservation. So we might start with the explanation that taste is *basic* in perhaps a more drastic sense than are what I called the higher senses.

Is it something further toward a justification of the Romans, that taste is the most deliberate and *selective* of the senses? Granted, we sometimes go to see Venice, hear a symphony, smell a flower, handle something about which we are curious. But much of what reaches us by these four avenues comes accidentally and unsolicited. In fact it is just as well that we don’t taste and perhaps swallow whatever comes our way, emulating the catholicity of the other senses. I have no known allergies; but I meet things all the time which I neither taste nor eat. If this piece were properly documented, I should list these in a foot-note such as those with which the contributors regale us.

In the third place, taste is the most *discriminating* and exacting. The artist in a special field is discriminating as to the *nuances* appropriate to it. But people generally are more fussy about what they like to eat than about anything else. In cuisine a dash of this, a hint of that; merely rub the salad-bowl with a piece of garlic.

So the philosopher (a) seeks the fundamental, the *basic*, that which answers to the instinct of the soul as primary: *ousia*, *essentia*, the Platonic idea. Without necessarily resorting to the eclecticism and syncretism often ascribed to the New Academy, the philosopher (b) is *selective*. Socrates is always saying that the many think, say, do “whatever happens.” The “democratic man” is opportunistic: gets drunk and revels today, tomorrow goes on the water-wagon and a reducing diet; now

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# THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

## MAKING LATIN WORK OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM

Granted that "Making Latin work outside the classroom" sounds burdensome to many a high school teacher who is better prepared to cope with declensions than with extra-curricular programs, the belief of Esther Jewell that it is necessary to keep Latin before the public in novel, attractive, and useful ways has led her to experiment with her Latin Club at the University High School, Ann Arbor, Michigan, making the extra-routine adventure a part of the recreational program. She claims to have learned much from her students, as a result, and presented the following projects in a paper read at the meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South at Memphis, 1951.

### Stage Lighting for Colored Shadows

With Estella Kyne's script, "The Labors of Hercules in Television," as a point of departure, the Latin Club prepared an assembly program entirely different from that given by any other group. Its success depended on imagination, trial and error. When the script had been cut and revised to fit needs of the occasion, the wistful desire to have colored shadows instead of black and white ones brought the response of "Let's have them then," from the boy who did the stage lighting. That was the beginning of a rainbow voyage. Hercules killed his children in black shadows on a red field. The Hydra incident was black on blue until the crab came, and then Hercules saw red. Each return to Tiryns was red on green. The last shadow was blue on a realistically changing sunrise. Blacking out the stage between episodes was found to be unnecessary, because a proper adjustment of lights would obliterate shadows and still preserve a delicately colored screen. John Boxby, the student who designed the lighting scheme describes it thus:

Borderlights as well as spotlights had dimmers on them. We used red, green, and blue

directly above the screen in the borderlights in such a position that the screen could be flooded with any one or any combination of these colors; and at any time a person could be placed near the screen without a shadow's being cast by these lights. At the back of the stage we had four 500-watt bird's-eye spotlights covered with yellow, red, green, and blue gelatins respectively, and centered as nearly as possible with relation to the screen. These were mounted about three feet from the floor on a ladder. By manipulation of any one of the spotlights at the back and any one or more of the borders at the front, practically any desired color or intensity of shadow could be produced on any of the four background colors.

The shadow was made to disappear while the screen remained colored by the following operation: 1) dimming out whatever color was being used in the shadow; 2) dimming out the back spot; 3) dimming in on the borders the same color that was being used for the background. These three acts must be carried out simultaneously and with proper timing in each.

*Teacher's comment:* "I understand that to be properly qualified for this part of the work, the electrician needs three hands, four eyes, and nine lives!"

### Greek Play under Student Direction.

The daring, experimental part of the decision to present a Greek play instead of the usual comedy for the year's assembly program lay in the fact that it was difficult to find a teacher who knew less about all the aspects of the theatre than I did. Furthermore, only two or three of us had ever seen a Greek play. The problem was solved when one of the senior members of the Latin Club, whose first love was the stage, consented to be the director. All during the process of editing the script, as well as during the actual rehearsals, I found that my part was only to suggest sources of information and that if I did the searching myself I was duplicating his efforts.

There was one doubt remaining in my mind, as there would be in the mind of any teacher: Could a student manage a large cast of fellow-students? They were chosen from grades nine through twelve on the basis of interest; only four of the eighteen had the experience of acting under close direction. Following the advice of the dramatics teacher, the director and I agreed that for the sake of the morale of the cast, he would be unquestionably in charge. In my official capacity as member of the costumes committee, I would not be timekeeper or disciplinarian. My fears were calmed when I walked into the first rehearsal, intentionally very late, and found the cast seated around a table explaining in turn their individual roles and fitting them into the play as a whole. Lack of understanding on anyone's part was met with suggestions for further study, even though someone else might be ready with the right answer. This was my introduction to two principles according to which all rehearsals were conducted: first, that each person should carry home "something to think about" each day; second, that thorough understanding should obviate the necessity of last-minute memorization. Sometimes paraphrasing was the tool used; sometimes classical reference books were consulted; and once, at least, director and actor sat down for a half-hour of diagramming some troublesome sentences! Working together in this fashion, the cast learned more about the ancient theatre, geography, mythology, effective speaking, and good sportsmanship than they would have learned in twice the amount of class time.

Classes did not suffer during this period, because all rehearsals took place after school and on Saturday mornings in the Latin classroom, where the stage set had been outlined in chalk on the floor. For convenient reference during practice, the play was divided into scenes, but all understood that this was a temporary measure and did not indicate the use of curtains. With almost no money to spend, we made costumes and properties which were as authentic as possible from cheesecloth, flour sacking, and cardboard; but masks were rejected because we felt that they would be completely impractical for our audience situation. After investigating traditional stage sets we used one designed by our

director, again with a thought for our audience. Shades of gray, black, and white suggested desolation; a blue cyclorama indicated the sea. Pastel costumes provided the desired coloring and completed a very pleasing picture. Original piano music, recorded, set the mood at the beginning of the play and again at the very end.

We presented our play not only for our own assembly but also before a state meeting of the Junior Classical League chapters and before the local civic theatre group, thereby keeping our department in public view over an extended period of time. Praise was high, and we all felt that the accomplishment was worth the effort.

*Teacher's evaluation of the project:* As I watched one person forget to be bashful, another overcome a speech difficulty, another find self-expression and social poise, and all, in varying degrees, learn the satisfaction that comes with real cooperation and striving for high achievement, I recognized this as a truly educative process, a constructive recreation, and a channel for public relations. As I sat through rehearsals day after day, pretending to grade papers or to study, I felt grateful also for the privilege of acquiring so easily a knowledge of techniques which I know that I will be called upon to use some day. Why should we not look upon these activities as recreation, as opportunities for learning, working, and playing with our students in situations quite different from those of the classroom? Regarded, so, they become an invaluable part of our lives; and instead of sighing, "I'm glad that's over!" we find ourselves asking, "What shall we do next?"

ESTHER JEWELL

*University High School,  
Ann Arbor, Michigan*

## LATIN AND SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS CO-OPERATE

During the last two years, a senior Latin student has conducted a review lesson on the names of phyla for the tenth grade biology class at the University High School, Ann Arbor, Michigan. These review lessons, offered in each class at appropriate times during the year and usually just before a major test, have been very well received by the science students as the following account

will show. Fortunately, Charles Hollis was both a good student in Latin and Greek and willing to keep his knowledge of biology in excellent working order for the sake of this inter-department cooperation. And the experiment has been so successful that it will be continued even with the help of a classical student whose knowledge of Greek may not go far beyond the alphabet and the list of terms. The procedure is as follows.

Using the same methods employed by the biology teacher, the classical student has the class provide the name of the phylum and describe the animals and plants included. He then explains the relationship of the word to the life described. For example, *platyhelminthes* is broken down into its parts: *platus*, flat; *helmins*, worm. The words are given their Greek pronunciation and are written on the board in Greek letters and then transliterated, a process which always delights the class. The *platus* is used in reviewing other terms which have been studied, or even in constructing some unfamiliar but useful words. As much attention as possible is given to prefixes and suffixes. If the situation permitted, the classes would lead their teacher far afield in definitions, but he is responsible for covering a large amount of biology in a short time.

Usually the classes have been provided with dittoed pages containing the basic information: the phylum name; the composition of that word, in both Greek and Latin wherever possible; and several words related to it. These pages are convenient for addition notations by the students and are useful for later, individual study. They contain only a fraction of the material actually employed in the lesson. The invariable requests, "Say the Greek alphabet for us!" and "Teach us the Greek alphabet!" are likely to be repeated in the Latin class the next day.

ESTHER JEWELL

#### SAPIENTIA (from page 189)

goes out for athletics, again turns lazy; maybe takes a shot at philosophy, or pops up in a political meeting and says any fool thing. (*Sic fere Platonis.*) But the philosopher has a paradigm, a *skopos*. A pattern of something is laid up

in Heaven for him; with all his *hamartiae*, he is at any rate aiming at something which he has deliberately chosen. Finally, (c) he is so discriminating that he sometimes becomes all too metaphysical. Take Plotinus. I, for one, can take him or leave him alone. He is not habit-forming for me. But philosophers in general are busy "rightly dividing the word of truth." They frequently cut it too fine for the average man.

Now has someone said all this before, and better? At least it's original with me. Read Chesterton's "Orthodoxy," and how he discovered a religion which had never been lost actually. Still, he had the experience of finding it. So I.

#### Allos and Alius

IF WE TRANSLATE in the usual way: Hdt. 1.216, "They sacrifice the old man and other sheep along with him;" *Phaedo* 62A, "this alone of all others;" Livy 1.20.3, Numa made the Vestals venerable "by virginity and other ceremonies" (but virginity is not a ceremony); Preface to *Samson Agonistes*, "Tragedy is the most serious of all other poems;" *Chicago Daily News*. This is "the most original of all previous shows." Of course *alios* and *allos* must often be rendered 'besides' or "as compared with." Similarly, the odd phrasing, *protos mou*, in John 1.15 shows that such constructions hover between genitives of the whole and comparative genitives.

#### The Humble Editor

WHEN I OPENED our January number, I saw with alarm that, in his infinite wisdom, the printer had inserted the editorial cnt above the leading article.

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## The Speeches of King Archidamus in Thucydides

THE AUSTRIAN POET AND THINKER, Franz Grillparzer, one of the great prophetic minds of the last century, calls the speech of King Archidamus in Thucydides "unsurpassed in its political wisdom."<sup>1</sup> It is natural that this speech should have appealed to the conservative humanist.

Thucydides—like Plato after him—being descended from a noble family active in politics, is concerned with the analysis of political and military leadership and with the presentation of the different types of Athenian and Spartan leaders as reflecting the various aspects of the national character of the two opponents.<sup>2</sup> His ideal is the combination of strength and moderation,<sup>3</sup> the mastery of men and the competent handling of situations, as appearing in Pericles the aristocrat grown into the most efficient leader of democracy. Like so many political thinkers, Thucydides is an independent and liberal conservative. His background and his experience of the road to catastrophe taken by unbridled post-Periclean democracy reinforced his appreciation of conservative statesmanship. He praises the ideas and the men of the conservative revolution of 411;<sup>4</sup> and if he had lived to complete his work, he would

have given us an even more impressive picture of the conservative politician Theramenes than did Xenophon. Even a Nicias, whose shortcomings in a critical situation are most clearly presented, is treated with a note of personal sympathy.

Thucydides is too clear-sighted and too sceptical to share the blind idealization of the Spartan character, not uncommon with the anti-democratic members of his class;<sup>5</sup> but he gives an impressive picture of the best type of the Spartan nobleman in King Archidamus. The historian makes use of his most striking means of presenting issues, conditions, and men,<sup>6</sup> Athenians or their enemies, in order to impress his reader with the importance of Archidamus as a character and as a type; he introduces him as a speaker on three occasions: 1) at the meeting of the Peloponnesian League deciding on war or peace; 2) at the beginning of the hostilities (2, 11); 3) in the negotiations with the Plataeans (2, 71-74). While all three of his speeches contribute to the picture of Archidamus the king and the man, the first, one of the masterpieces among the Thucydidean speeches,<sup>7</sup> penetrates beyond the particular case into the general issues of political experience and thought.

In order to underscore the clash of political temper and interest between Athens and her enemies in this hour of decision and to present the permanent type of the character and politics of the Athenians as seen by themselves and by the others, Thucydides introduces four speeches, the composition and chronology of which has been a major issue of the so-called Thucydidean question.<sup>8</sup> After the two foreign speakers, the Corinthians and the Athenians, have tried to impress upon the Spartan authorities—and the reader—their point of view concerning Athenian power, the men in charge of Sparta discuss among themselves the action to be taken. The speeches of the King and of the ephor, Sthenelaidas, are presented by Thucydides to illustrate the clash in contemporary Spartan society between two opposite characters, tempers, ages, and policies.<sup>9</sup> Sthenelaidas' vehement and emotional words speak the language of the "modern," ruthless, activistic youth, a counterpart to Cleon's and Alcibiades' emotional oratory in Athens; and it is, in Thucydides' opinion, the beginning of the Hellenic tragedy that, by using the never-failing combination of demagogic cleverness with the appeal to the urge for action, he wins the day against Archidamus who stands for reason and moderation.

The King's speech is the voice of the warner, and, like his parallels in Attic tragedy and in Herodotus,<sup>10</sup> he is not heeded when there is still time to ward off the impending doom. The warner in the critical moment, first disregarded and then justified by the final issue: this is a recurrent motive in Thucydides with his emphasis on right or wrong judgements and decisions as the key to

success or failure in politics. But Archidamus is more than just a wise adviser; he is the ageless type of that great conservative virtue, *sophrosyne*,<sup>11</sup> expression both of his personal character and of the national mind<sup>12</sup> and tradition of his people. *Sophrosyne* in the individual, like *eunomia* in the state, appears as the force of self-control, reason, and steadiness in an age of increasing anarchy in political and social life as mercilessly analysed in some of the grandest and gloomiest chapters of the *History* (3, 82-84). And as Thucydides sees it, it was the lack of *sophrosyne* more than any other reason which brought about the fall of Athens. The sophistic awareness of *Man as the Measure of all Things*, the background of Thucydides' own thinking, makes him and his contemporaries see the individual and the state between the two opposite poles of *sophrosyne* and *hybris*, with the conservative type under increasing attack by the ideals of rashness and ruthlessness of a disintegrating society. Yet Thucydides, with his mind open to the facts and necessities of the new forces on the political scene, is no blind partisan of conservatism as such; and his picture of Nicias, for whom he apparently had much personal regard, reveals the fatal limitations of a decent but narrow-minded conservative in face of conditions calling for speedy decision and action.

On the other hand, Archidamus' speech, as are his actions, is presented by Thucydides as the example of the perfect integration of a character and his station in life.<sup>13</sup> Archidamus' quiet dignity and old-fashioned poise, his balance of mind and unconcern with any emotional appeal, his blend of valor



and sound judgment, make him the paragon of the age-old tradition of the Spartan warrior king. The clear-cut and distinct words which express his political philosophy bear the imprint of Thucydides' "sophistic" and Athenian mind and, as with most Thucydidean speeches, words really spoken are blended with those which, in the historian's opinion, the King might have said to give the most impressive picture of his character and attitude. The warning against any rash action, with which he begins his speech, is all the more striking as it comes from one who has been a leader of fighting men through all his life. Although, as a conservative, he is aware of the imponderables of prestige and tradition, he sees in war—as does Thucydides himself—only the *ultima ratio* to be resorted to if all attempts of a peaceful settlement have failed. Man's nature being what it is, it is easier to start a war than to stop it (82, 6). With an audience stirred up by the self-interested arguments of the allies and the emotional atmosphere of demagogery, he pleads for time either to consider the possibilities for compromise or to prepare for war with the prospects of victory. He warns against the recurrent illusions of an easy and short war (81, 6). Like Nicias before the Sicilian Expedition (6.13,1), he appeals to the older generation; while, tragically, it is the younger group eager for action which needs most to pay attention to his warning.<sup>14</sup> Since there is no doubt of his own bravery, he feels free to stress the fateful danger of underrating the enemy. With the double purpose of presenting both the picture of Athens in the mind of her opponents and Archidamus' cautious restraint, Thucydides makes him stress

the superior power of Athens, based on geographic and economic conditions (80, 3 f.), and of a maritime empire out of reach for a—so far—exclusively continental power such as Sparta. In this point as well as in the hint of the advisable alliance with Persia, his words are a clear *vaticinium ex eventu* (not without some bearing upon the dating of this passage), as it was indeed the destruction of her navy and Persian interference which brought about the fall of Athens.

Against the nervous haste and the ruthless ambition of the 'modern' world displayed by so many Athenian characters in Thucydides, Euripides, and Aristophanes, and increasingly taking hold of Sparta too—as shown in the picture given of Spartan leadership by Thucydides and his continuator, Xenophon,—Archidamus is proud of his slow and cautious temper (84, 1).<sup>15</sup> Earning the highest praise from such a reserved writer as Thucydides as a man both *xynetos* and *sophron*<sup>16</sup> (79, 2), he is not afraid of apparent loss of face through his insistence on slow deliberation instead of irrevocable decision. His ability to wait and see, unmoved by the representations of the allies and the self-assertive speech of the Athenians, is stressed by Thucydides both as a human and as a national type.<sup>17</sup> The contrast between Athenian and Spartan character is naturally one of his key topics as it underlies his analysis of the political and military events and outcome of the Peloponnesian War. In Archidamus this old-fashioned and unruffled poise forms an integral part of an impressive type, the last survival of a great but passing tradition; but Thucydides makes it also clear that, on occasion, this old-Spartan slowness of

decision involved the loss of opportunities (8.96, 5); and he leaves no doubt that it was the modern, "Athenianized" type of leadership which won the war for Sparta.

The King has been brought up in the hard school of old tradition and discipline and, as he pointedly stresses against the new wisdom of the day, as one of those *who are not enlightened intellectuals enough to look down on the nomoi*,<sup>18</sup> the moral and social traditions. Unshaken by either flattery or blame (81, 2), his ideal of *sophrosyne emphron*—already praised by Solon (4, 33),—rooted in the old Spartan traditions of honor and conduct, *aidos* and *aischyne* (81, 3)<sup>19</sup>, represents the survival of the aristocratic type of the *kaloskagathos* in an age which was not yet ready to bring forth the new concept of the philosopher-king. Thucydides' Archidamus has much in common with the contemporary picture of Theseus in whom Sophocles and Euripides embody the virtues of a leadership both strong and wise.<sup>20</sup> The King's conservative mistrust of the new wisdom of the day as undermining the *nomoi* was a current issue of the time: Aristophanes reflects this popular mood, and Thucydides himself makes one of the favorite leaders of Athenian democracy, Cleon, in a speech meant to appeal to the emotions, praise the *amathia*, the lack of modern knowledge, of the 'unsophisticated' common people, combined with the virtue of *sophrosyne*—usually claimed by the aristocrats,—as the mainstay of a stable community (3.37, 3).<sup>21</sup> When a few years later Plato wrote his *Crito* in defence of the memory of Socrates, he introduced the talk between the *Nomoi* and the man who had been sentenced to die as their

destroyer, in order to demonstrate that *sophia*—as opposed to *amathia*—might very well cooperate with *sophrosyne* in respect for tradition and law.

With the conservative's belief in the general and permanent features of human nature, Archidamus rejects the sharp contrast, presented in the speech of the Corinthians, between the Athenian and the Spartan way of handling affairs. He warns against expecting from the enemy decisions and attitudes much different from our own; and emphatically he discards the popular idea of relying on the mistakes of the other side rather than on our own foresight (84.4). A life-long experience of military leadership has taught him what Pericles' Athenian envoys call the *paralogos* of war (1.78, 1), the incalculable realm of *tyche* as a major force in these years of uncertainty and disintegration.<sup>22</sup> This topic is one among several in his speech of the Athenians.<sup>23</sup> These cross references, as many others in Thucydides, are intentional. While the first and the last of the four speakers at the meeting in Sparta, the Corinthians and Sthenelaidas, urgently advocate war; the two intermediate speeches, by the Athenians and by Archidamus, with equal emphasis convey the advice of a peaceful settlement; more restrained and matter-of-fact, they are meant to appeal to reason rather than emotion. The King seems to take up the Athenian warning against the war; his words, however, are not to be regarded as an appeasing reply to the self-assured pride of the Athenians who talk about keeping the peace because they feel sure both of their right and their power as rulers of their empire. Archidamus is too deeply rooted in his own Spartan order to be impressed or even angered—as are the ephor and his



group in their concern with their own prestige—by this show of foreign pride. If he stands for peace at this moment, it is because by nature, temper, and age he is averse to any rash decision.

This does not mean that he is insensitive toward the potential threat of Athens and toward the plight of the small Greek communities which look to Sparta for help. The traditional standards of justice and honor rank high with him as a conservative. He is as much against peace at any price as he is against the plan of wanton destruction of the Athenian countryside; which, as he foresees, will only lead to the bitterness of what today we call total warfare. Like Pericles, he understands the basic role of power in politics; but his ingrained sense for the established order of things opens his eyes to the revolutionary consequences of a long war. Thus he hopes that the show of strength and determination, accompanied by the readiness to negotiation, will bring the Athenians to a compromise in line with the traditions of reason and justice (85, 2). Yet the assertive manner of the Athenians makes it hard for him to impress an audience emotionally disinclined to compromise. He has the moral courage of an upright man, like Pericles (2.65, 8), to take up an unpopular issue; and he is one of the examples in Thucydides of the reasonable and moderate leader in politics who has to defend his country both against attack from the outside and against the appeal of the activists at home.<sup>24</sup>

The ruthlessness of Archidamus' opponent, Sthenelaidas, foreshadows the Sparta of Lysander, which, in Thucydides' opinion, was to bring as much destruction over the Hellenic world as the anarchical democracy of post-Peri-

clean Athens. Archidamus, on the other hand, although not an equal to the supreme political ideal as, in Thucydides' judgment, embodied in Pericles, is meant to be a complement as well as a contrast to the best in Athenian statesmanship.<sup>25</sup> And Thucydides wrote for readers who knew that the king of Sparta and the Athenian statesman, although leaders of their countries in their fatal internecine war, were personally friends through the bonds of guest-friendship (2.13, 1). It was the tragedy of Greece, as Thucydides, the political thinker, sees it, that the Athens of Pericles and the Sparta of Archidamus were not able to find a way of compromise and cooperation.<sup>26</sup> A combination of Athenian inquisitiveness and restlessness with Doric steadiness and conservatism as the road to preserve and to rebuild Hellenic tradition: this concept was taken over by Plato, Thucydides' heir in not a few aspects of political thought;<sup>27</sup> and the philosopher's last and grandest work, bearing in its very title, *Nomoi*, a basic concept of conservative tradition, has the form of a dialogue of an Athenian thinker abroad—a new Solon—with the two Dorians, Megillus the Spartan, and Cleinias the Cretan.

Even after the day has come which was to be "the beginning of many disasters for Greece" (2.12, 3), Archidamus' words and deeds as commander of the Peloponnesian invasion forces reflect his philosophy of moderation.<sup>28</sup> His repeated attempts, after the outbreak of the hostilities, to bring the Athenians to terms by the threat of destruction rather than by actual destruction (2.12, 1; 18, 5) cause him to be called soft and friendly to the enemy (2.18, 3). This attitude of the king is emphasized

by Thucydides, who is aware of the ageless truth that the physical and psychological sores of these ravages linger in the minds as an impediment to real peace. And peace as the final purpose of war, and a constant readiness to a settlement by negotiation, is a tenet of Archidamus'—and Thucydides'—political creed. In a short speech<sup>32</sup> the King once more warns against overconfidence and blind reliance on either calculations or hopes (2.11, 4); instead, he stresses the old Spartan virtues of discipline—*kosmos*—and caution (11, 9) as the safeguards of success. This is the first speech after the beginning of the war, and in the face of the increasing ruthlessness and disintegration as described in the later chapters of his work, Thucydides makes the old king, the representative of the noble tradition of a vanishing past, once more point to the moral aspects of the fight, to the ideals of *dike* and *doxa* (11, 2), to the righteousness of their cause, and to the importance of the ensuing sympathies of the Hellenic world. Much of this attitude lives on in Thucydides' picture of Brasidas who looks like a rejuvenated and modernized Archidamus. There is also Archidamian spirit in the conciliatory speech of the Spartan envoys who suggest a peace of compromise during the siege of Sphacteria (4.17-20). Unfortunately, Thucydides' untimely death has deprived us of his picture of Callicratidas, who, like Archidamus a *kaloskagathos* of the old Spartan type, in contrast to his successor, Lysander, even after twenty-five years of war still thinks of reconciliation between Sparta and Athens (Xen. *Hell.* 1.6, 7; Plut. *Lysand.* 3, 5).

Once more Archidamus appears as a speaker when in the second year of the

war he leads an expedition against Plataea and, in accordance with his principles, tries to settle the matter of her loyalty to Athens through an arrangement without resorting to violence (2.72). It is significant that both the Plataeans and Archidamus begin with the concept of the *dikaion*. It is for the first time that we meet one of the favorite themes of Thucydides: the plight of the small city-state in face of a stronger power. In a way the discussion between the King and Plataea is the first stage of a fatal evolution at the end of which stands the *Melian Dialogue*.<sup>33</sup> The factor of compulsion necessarily enters with Archidamus trying to induce the Plataeans to allow the occupation of their territory for the duration of the war; but his words refrain from any emphasis on power politics, and he talks with the representatives of the city as with equals who may choose to agree or to refuse.

Even after the negotiations have broken down owing to the insistence of the Plataeans on staying by their alliance with Athens, Archidamus does not start the fighting without, in a solemn invocation to the local gods, stressing the righteousness of his cause (2.74, 3).<sup>34</sup> These are the last words he speaks in the *History*, ending with a reference to *nomos*, as he began with the concept of *dike*, both keys to his conservative creed. Behind these noble words stands the foreboding of Plataea's tragic fate when after her surrender the same Spartans will act as executioners for her arch-enemy, Thebes, as strikingly illustrated in one of the most merciless passages in Thucydides, the speech duel between the doomed Plataeans and the Thebans (3.53-67). This is the ruthlessness of the new

Spartan type. Archidamus, on the other hand, is the only carrier of power who in the hour of success calls for the blessing of the gods. His closeness to the gods is part of his character, similar to that of the great old men in contemporary Attic tragedy. His picture is presented by Thucydides as the last survival of the old Greek nobility of unbroken, pre-sophistic standards. Although Archidamus is a different personal and national type from Thucydides' Periclean ideal, he too upholds the honor of responsible and far-sighted leadership in face of the growing danger of the defeat of political reason by mass emotions.<sup>32</sup> But, as Thucydides' *History* indicates, the tide of activism and emotionalism was to lead to the rise of the demagogue over the statesman. The Greece of Pericles and Archidamus turning into the Greece of Sthenelaidas, and finally of Alcibiades, Ly-sander, and Critias: this is the tragic main theme of the *History*. No wonder that Plato, who grew up in this world of moral anarchy, through all of his life saw the replacement of the demagogue by the statesman as the key to the reconstruction of Hellenic society. Archidamus would have felt at home in Plato's state.

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Tagebuecher, 2.19.1829 (no. 1699, Saemtl. W. II 8).

<sup>2</sup>O. Regenbogen, "T. als Pol. Denker", *Hum. Gym.* 44 (1933) 13; H. Gundert, "Athen-er u. Spartaner i. d. Reden d. T."

<sup>3</sup>W. Jaeger, *Paideia*, vol. 1 (N.Y., 1939) 402 f.; G. F. Bender, *D. Begriff D. Staatsmanns b. T.* (diss. Erlangen, 1938) 7-14.

<sup>4</sup>J. H. Finley, Jr., *Thucydides* (Cambr. Mass., 1942) 242 f.; H. Bogner, *D. Verwirkl. Demokratie* (Hambg., 1930) 121.

<sup>5</sup>F. Ollier, *Le Mirage Spartiate* (Paris, 1933) 139-94; W. R. Agard, *What Democracy Meant to the Greeks* (Chapel Hill, 1942) 175 f.

<sup>6</sup>T. Gomperz, *Gr. Denker*, vol. 1, 4th ed. (Berlin, 1922) 421 f.; F. Wassermann, "D. Neue Thukydidesbild," *N. Jahrb.* 7 (1931) 248; O. Regenbogen, *T's Politische Reden* (Lpzg. 1949) 34 f.

<sup>7</sup>E. Schwartz, *D. Geschichtswerk d. T.* (Bonn, 1919) 117; Finley, *op. cit.* 130.

<sup>8</sup>Discussion about the Date of the speeches at the meeting of the Pelop. League: Schwartz, *op. cit.*; M. Pohlenz, "Thukydidesstudien I", *GGN* 1919; H. Patzer, *D. Problem d. Geschichtsschreibg d. T. u. d. Thukyd. Frage* (Berlin, 1937); Finley, *op. cit.*; J. de Romilly, *T. et l'Impérialisme Athénien* (Paris, 1947).

<sup>9</sup>Pohlenz, *l.c.* 104; Wassermann, *l.c.* 254; Finley, *op. cit.* 129; R. Zahn, *D. Letzte Periklesrede* (diss. Kiel, 1934) 55; O. Luschkat, "D. Feldherrnreden im Geschw. d. T.," *Philol. suppl.* 34, 2 (1942) 12 f.

<sup>10</sup>O. Regenbogen, "Herodot u. a. Werk," *Antike* 6 (1930) 233 f.; E. Bischoff, *D. Warner b. H.* (Diss. Marbg., 1932); F. Hellmann, *H's Kroisos-Logos* (NPhU, 1934) 121-5. The contrast between the activist and the warner before Xerxes' decision: Pohlenz, *Herodot* (NWZA 7/8, 1937) 121 f.

<sup>11</sup>E. Meyer, *Forsch. z. Alt. Gesch.*, vol. 2 (Halle, 1899) 380 f.; W. Nestle, "T. u. d. Sophistik," *N. Jahrb.* 33 (1914) 679; Regenbogen, *T's Pol. Reden*, 44f. The contrast between oldfashioned *sophrosyne* and "modern" *sophia* plays a part in the contest between the *Logos Dikaios* and the *Logos Adikos* in the *Clouds*. The classical ideal of the triumph of *sophrosyne* over *hybris*: T. B. L. Webster, *Gr. Art and Literature* (Oxf., 1939) 197 f. S. in Thucydides a contrast both to *aboulia* (1.32, 4) and to *hybris* (3.84). Spartan *sophrosyne* against Athenian *pleonexia* is a major motive behind the Thucydidean speech of the Spartan envoys who in vain suggest a peace of compromise (4.17-20).

<sup>12</sup>Romilly, *op. cit.*, 152.

<sup>13</sup>The Spartan ideal of discipline and self-control: Isocr. *Areop.* 7.

<sup>14</sup>*Sophrosyne as the flower of old age* as against the energy and exuberance of youth: *Democr. frag.* 294; cf. *Plato Laws* 3, 691E. The emotional dynamism of the younger generation and war: Luschkat, *l.c.* 129 f.

<sup>15</sup>L. Bodin, "Thucydide I 84," *Melanges Desrousseaux* (1932) 21 f.; Regenbogen *Hum. Gym* (1933) 13 f. An Athenian counterpart is Diodotus' insistence on *euboulia*

against rash and emotional decisions (3.42, 1).

<sup>16</sup>Zahn, *op. cit.* 76-9. T. attributes *xyne-sis* to A., Pericles, Themistocles, Brasidas, Hermocrates, and to the conservatives of 411. W. Mueri, "Beitr. z. Verstaendn. d. T.," *Mus. Helv.* 4 (1947) 259 f.

<sup>17</sup>It is this Spartan trait to which the second speech of the Corinthians refers (1.120, 3): "Men of discretion keep peace if not wronged, but brave men fight if wronged."

<sup>18</sup>The *nomos* as the conscience of the *polites*: Jaeger, *Hum. Reden u. Votr.* (Berlin, 1937) 105. The *Nomos* as the master of the Spartans: Demaratus to Xerxes (*Herod.* 7.104). The concept of the *nomos* and the crisis of the age: Nestle, "Kritias," *N. Jahrb.* 11 (1903) 195; F. Heinemann, *Nomos und Physis* (Zurich, 1945) 78 f.; H. Frisch, *The Constitution of Athens* (Copenhagen, 1942) 106-33. About Cratinus' *Nomoi* as chorus of old men: W. Schmid-O. Staehlin, *Gesch. d. Gr. Lit. (Handb. d. Alt. Wiss.* 14, 2. Haeftte, Muenchen, 1946) 80.

<sup>19</sup>C. E. v. Erfta, "Aidos," *Philol. suppl.* 30, 2 (1937): 69: *aidos* opposite to *hybris*; 195: *aidos* and *dike* as foundations of state and society.

<sup>20</sup>H. Herter, "Theseus d. Athener," *Rh. Mus.* 88 (1939) 311-22; Agard, *op. cit.* 170 f.

<sup>21</sup>The intellectual and moral *amathia* of the common people as seen by a critic of democracy: Ps. Xen., *Rep. Ath.* 1, 5, who puts it in contrast to the *sophia* and *arete* of the conservative upper class.

<sup>22</sup>L. E. Lord, *T. and the World War* (Cmbr.

Mass., 1945) 96; Mueri, l.c. 254-7. On the contemporary concept of *Tyche* in general: G. Busch, *Unters. z. Wesen d. Tyche i. d. Trag. d. Euripides* (diss. Heidelberg, 1937). The statesman conquers *tyche* by *gnome*: Herter, "Freiheit u. Gebundenheit d. Staatsmanns bei T.," *Rh. Mus.* 93 (1950) 139 f.

<sup>23</sup>Pohlenz, l.c. 105.

<sup>24</sup>Statesmanship as control of emotion by reason: Romilly, *op. cit.* 275 f.; Zahn, *op. cit.* 59-61; Herter, l.c. 151 f.

<sup>25</sup>Finley, "Euripides and Thucydides," *HSCIP* 49 (1938) 34-7.

<sup>26</sup>The idea of cooperation between the major Hellenic states: W. M. Hugill, *Panhellenism in Aristophanes* (Ph.D. thesis, Chicago, 1935); A. Koerte, "D. Tendenz v. Xenophons *Anabasis*," *N. Jahrb.* 49 (1922) 15 f. It is in the same line when Euripides' *Heracles* emphasizes the friendship between Heracles and Theseus.

<sup>27</sup>Pohlenz, *Aus Platos Werdezeit* (Berlin, 1913) 238-56; Regenbogen, *Hum. Gym.* 1933, 25.

<sup>28</sup>U. v. Wilamowitz, "Lesezfr. 61," *Herm.* 35 (1900) 556 f.

<sup>29</sup>Analysed by Luschkat, l.c. 10-20.

<sup>30</sup>F. Wassermann, "The M.D.," *TAPhA* 78 (1947) 18-36.

<sup>31</sup>Ollier, *op. cit.* 153; W. Nestle, *V. Mythos z. Logos* (Stuttg. 1942) 516.

<sup>32</sup>Triumph of emotion over reason: Romilly, *op. cit.* 272-7; C. N. Cochrane, *T. and the Science of History* (Oxf., 1929) 118; F. Taeger, *Thukydides* (Stuttg., 1925) 162.

#### EDITOR (From page 192)

This had been done after the dummy had permanently left my hands. (For the uninitiate, let me explain that that undignified substantive is not a pejorative for the printer, but part of the innocuous idiom of the Fourth Estate.) Without the usual stage prop, I soliloquized, "Alas, poor Raubitschek! I knew him well. But shall we ever be on speaking terms again?" Actually the author said nothing *tacenda* about ostracism, and I could say nothing *dicenda* about it.

In my proper function, however, since

the columnists of the *Journal* are a little coy about having their matter used as filler (having conned their Aristotle and *Ars Poetica* on unity of thought); it is incumbent on me as the *corpus vile* to be very *passim*. Whatever fills out a page by reason of our *horror vacui*, what is not otherwise signed and what no one else would care to claim—this can in future be regarded as emanating from the Editor. My predecessor localized even his *farrago*; mine may be for practical reasons more widely distributed. For *digesta moles*, see Steiner's competent presentation at the end of this issue.

# Meno's Fundamental Weakness

**A** TASTE FOR intuitive thinking, healthy speculation, and literary relaxation has always claimed a fitting place among the benefits we reap from reading Plato. But perhaps our richest reward, at least from the early dialogues, is their thought-discipline. Here the *Meno* stands out as one of signal importance to both scholar and student. For it introduces us to the further speculations of the Academy, and points out the way to prepare for serious studies like philosophy. This paper will briefly consider the fundamental weakness of Socrates' admirer, Meno. Meno's defect is the very nemesis of the dialectic upon which the dialogues depend, and so it deserves careful attention.

Now, I do not say that Meno's impetuosity is his only defect or difficulty. Nor do I say it is his only root weakness, but that it is his main root weakness. Among his major handicaps, Meno does not have a first-rate mind. In all charity, his is one only slightly more charged than the average student's. However, Meno's mediocrity is a secondary consideration. For it is most evident that Socrates (and Plato) recognized that the lack of a first-rate mind does not disqualify a prospective dialectician. Otherwise, men of Socrates' calibre would contemplate and investigate truths by themselves. They would not engage in the "active life" of mental therapy or maieutic. In Socrates' eyes, *ingenium* is not as necessary for a prospective dialectician as interest and a careful approach to a given problem. Meno surely has the required intellectual curiosity, but he fails insofar

as he approaches the problem impetuously. It is this impetuosity which appears to be Meno's fundamental difficulty. "Impetuosity" is admittedly a poor word. Perhaps the coined *λαβροφροσύνη* would somewhat better express Meno's inordinate greed for answers and his intellectual immaturity. This instability has more than one aspect. It is at least two fold: emotional and intellectual. From both of these come his want of accuracy and his loss of perspective. In treating the problem, therefore, we may well say that impetuosity is his fundamental, though it is not his sole, or even his less easily surmountable difficulty.

Once Meno appears on the scene, we do not have long to wait for action. He explodes his magazine of questions in the very first lines of the dialogue:

Can you tell me, Socrates, whether virtue can be taught, or is acquired by practice, not teaching? Or if neither by practice nor by learning, whether it comes to mankind by nature or in some other way?

Meno now waits for the glorious "fireworks" that Gorgias was wont to display on similar provocation. Socrates, however, recognizes Meno's impetuosity and holds his fire; he is too poor, he says, to put on a spectacle. Meno quickly counters with the reproach that Socrates does not even know what virtue is. Why, Gorgias used to spangle the heavens with his lovely definitions—has not Socrates met and heard him? Note here how Socrates reacts to this impetuous barrage by his would-be admirer. He does not counter by declaiming against the Sophists (at least at this point of the dialogue). He does not

tell Meno how or how not to form a definition. He does not begin a discussion with another passer-by as yet and show Meno how or what he himself thinks. No, Socrates offers to give Meno the controls and let him see for himself where they arrive. In the face of impetuosity there is little else that can more effectively impress the Socratic "lesson" of intellectual and moral discipline than to allow Meno to bring the discussion almost to ruin. Off they go! They see and say (yes, Socrates has some sport with Meno on the way) many beautiful things about domestic economy, temperance, justice, figure, color, etc. Occasionally Socrates tries to save the discussion with his well-directed back-seat driving, but to no avail. Meno *will* have his definitions, ready-made, prefabricated. He is willing to agree to any suggestion except one that entails considering where he is going, or rather, just *whence* he is going in this discussion. Socrates tries to curb him:

How overbearing of you, Meno, to press an old man with demands for answers, when you will not trouble yourself to recollect and tell me what account Gorgias gives of virtue. (76b)

But Meno impatiently snaps back:

When you have answered my question, Socrates, I will answer yours.

Socrates then calms and encourages Meno, complies with his impetuous demands, and indulges him with some of Gorgias' famed fireworks:

"Conceive my meaning," as Pindar says; color is an effluence of figures, commensurate with sight and sensible. (76d)

Meno is appeased, but after renewed wanderings Socrates gently calls his

attention to the point at hand. Meno is offended:

Socrates, I used to be told, before I began to meet you, that yours was just a case of being in doubt yourself and making others doubt also; and so now I find you are merely bewitching me with your spells and incantations which have reduced me to a state of utter perplexity . . . For in truth I feel my soul and my tongue quite benumbed, and I am at a loss what answer to give you. (80ab)

Meno goes on to remark that formerly he was able to make many speeches on virtue, and very good ones, too, but now . . . ! We can see that to this point Meno's impetuosity has been largely of the nature of presumption. Socrates observed this in the very beginning of the dialogue:

. . . Gorgias has given you the regular habit of answering any chance question in a fearless, magnificent manner, as befits those who know: for he sets the example of offering himself to be questioned by any Greek who chooses, and on any point one likes, and he has an answer for everybody. (70b)

Some progress has been made in curing Meno's impetuosity, for Socrates has calmed him emotionally. With his typical blend of tactful, half-friendly irony, Socrates has achieved this notable success partly by flattery and partly by focusing Meno's attention on his slave, rather than on his own poor showing. It is probably no mere conjecture that Meno is easily insulted because he refuses to admit to himself or to others that his precipitate haste to "get answers" betrays a humiliating lack of mature control over his ideas and emotions. Patient, systematic, and penetrating doctor-dialectician that he is, Socrates has humbled Meno intellectually, then softened the sting of the cure.



Besides presumption, other manifestations of impetuosity have appeared in the discussion to this point. Perhaps the most obvious of these is that in his impatience Meno snatches at false answers which inflate his ego and give him a sense of accomplishment:

Seeing then that it is the same virtue in all cases, try and tell me, if you can recollect, what Gorgias—and you in agreement with him, say it is.

Simply that it is the power of governing mankind—if you want a single description to cover all cases (73c)

Of course, the most outstanding superficiality is found in the first few sections of the dialogue where Meno generously offers his service with: "Why it isn't difficult to state, Socrates." (71e) It will take time—almost the whole dialogue, in fact—for Socrates to indicate by painful trial, if not to persuade Meno, that the *amor veritatis* is not the *amor assensus*.

Now does it seem to you to be a good argument, Socrates? (Socrates has merely restated the argument.)

It does not.

Can you explain how not?

I can; for I have heard from wise men and women who told of things divine that—

What was it they said?

Something true, as I thought, and admirable.

What was it? And who were the speakers? (81a)

Then, too, Meno does not pause to question his own ideas or even those of his interrogator. Occasionally, Meno objects to Socrates "positive" statements, as when he calls Socrates' tentative description of figure "silly." (75c) Socrates admonishes him to weigh what has been said and not rush on im-

petuously:

... If my questioner were a professor of the eristic and contentious sort, I should say to him: I have made my statement; if it is wrong, your business is to examine and refute it. But if, like you and me on this occasion, we were friends and chose to have a discussion together, I should have to reply in some milder tone more suited to dialectic. (75d)

Apparently this admonition does little good, for within a few breaths we hear Meno say:

And what do you say of color, Socrates?

Then would you like me to answer you in the manner of Gorgias, which you would find easiest to follow?

I should like that, of course (76a,c)

Socrates indulges him, but warns him that the question and answer method is better than high-flown definitions for finding what something is. (76e,77a) He encourages Meno to answer (Socrates' "Try to State" appears several times (75d,77a) but to no avail:

Try to tell me (about figure); it will be good practice for your answer about virtue.

No, it is you who must answer, Socrates.

You wish me to do you the favor?

By all means. (75ab)

Once Meno receives any answer, he considers the case closed. Socrates repeatedly cautions him on this point:

... And plainly, Socrates, on our hypothesis that virtue is knowledge, it must be taught.

Yes, I daresay; but what if we were not right in agreeing to that?

Well, it seemed to be a correct statement a moment ago.

Yes, but not only a moment ago must it seem correct, but now and hereafter, if it is to be at all sound.

Why, what reason have you to make a difficulty about it, and feel a doubt as to virtue

being knowledge?

I will tell you, Meno. I do not withdraw as incorrect the statement that it is taught, if it is knowledge; but as to its being knowledge, consider if you think I have grounds for misgiving. (89cd)

All this superficiality, this mental impetuosity, further results in inaccuracy in the use of words and in the loss of that perspective so necessary in treating such a general topic as virtue. Before one can know whether virtue can be taught, he must first attend to its essence:

Do you really believe, Meno, that a man knows the evil to be evil, and still desires it?

Certainly

What do you mean by "desires?" (77c)

Even in Meno's amended definition, after a Socratic purging of this sort, we hear him say:

Then virtue, it seems by your account, is ability to procure goods.

I entirely agree, Socrates, with the view which you now take of the matter. (78c)

Then the question arises: "How can this be virtue if it does not include the admitted virtue of justice?" After all this wandering, we return to the question that should have been stated in the first place, namely: "What is virtue?" If the many are blurred, as they surely have been in this precipitate discussion, how can the One be brought into focus?

So far, we have seen that Meno enters the discussion presumptuously and impetuously. We have also noted that kindred difficulties quickly appear in the course of the dialogue; for instance, that Meno snatches at false answers in his impatience, and that he does not pause to ask questions, clarify, or hear Socrates' full explanation when it is

given. In fact, Meno simply resents being forced to specify what he means. Inaccuracy and loss of perspective are the result.

Now, it must be noted that Meno's impetuosity is not less a moral fault, too. He is vain, and so he is swayed by flattery. He is contentious and not guided by gentle logic, as Socrates hints he should be, judging by his slave-boy's success in submitting to the dialectical method. Above all, Meno lacks that intellectual humility which is so necessary for the pursuit of truth. Meno clearly fails in this respect every time he is forced to return to the more basic issue: "What is virtue?" Now, Socrates sees in dialectic a remedy for this largely moral fault. The high point of the dialogue clearly evidences how necessary intellectual humility is as a propaedeutic to philosophical inquiry:

There now, Meno, do you observe what progress he has already made in his recollection. At first he did not know what is the line that forms the figure of eight feet, and he does not know even now; but at any rate he thought he knew then, and confidently answered as though he knew, and was aware of no difficulty; whereas now he feels the difficulty he is in, and besides not knowing, does not think he knows . . . And we have certainly given him some assistance, it would seem, towards finding out the truth of the matter: For now he will push on the search gladly, as lacking knowledge; whereas then he would have been only too ready to suppose he was right in saying, before any number of people any number of times, that the double space must have a line of double the length for its side. (84ab)

Keeping this inner dialogue (with the slave-boy) as a paradigm of dialectic procedure, we see that Socrates follows the same pattern in remedying Meno's



impetuosity:

Then since we are of one mind as to the duty of inquiring into what one does not know, do you agree to our attempting a joint inquiry into the nature of virtue?

By all means. But still, Socrates, for my part I would like best of all to examine that question I asked at first, and hear your view as to whether in pursuing it we are to regard it as a thing to be taught, or as a gift of nature to mankind, or as arriving to them in some other way which I should be glad to know.

Had I control over you, Meno, as over myself, we should not have begun considering whether virtue can or cannot be taught until we had first inquired into the main question of what it is. But as you do not so much attempt to control yourself—you are so fond of your liberty—and both attempt and hold control over me, I will yield to your request—what else am I to do? So it seems we are to consider what sort of thing it is which we do not yet know what it is! (86c-e)

There follows the demonstration of pursuing a hypothesis in inscribing a triangle in a circle. After the appearance of Anytus (89e) the dialogue is concluded with Socrates' thoughts on knowledge and right opinion. Surely, it is at least suggested here that by dialectic as well as by divine fate, opinion can become knowledge. Dialectic is, then, the plan of approach to a given problem, the way to curb one's impulses and so leisurely to ensnare the question proposed. The moral-disciplinary value of dialectic which appears in these passages is no surprise when we see (although Socrates does not tell us), that the great dialectician apparently feels virtue is knowledge, and that the way to arrive at knowledge of anything is dialectic.

In fine, we may briefly point out what Socrates proposes as a remedy for Meno's (and our) impetuosity. First, we

must admit our ignorance. For only in this way can we hope to purify ourselves of contradictory opinions in order clearly to see the precise point at issue. Second, we must follow our right opinions. Neither Plato nor the Socrates he presents are sceptics. Misology is a worse crime than misanthropy—so Socrates warns his friends a few moments before his death. (*Phaedo* 89d) Socrates' whole life was devoted to clearing the path to truth. Yet, as a purgative way his approach was not purely negative. Once he had tested his concepts he was prepared to feel his way towards the truth by using hypotheses. (86e) Lastly, we must seek in dialectic the means to purify our minds and perfect our opinions into knowledge. Socrates makes this aim explicit immediately after examining Meno's slave. (87ff) The method to be followed is clearly the mathematico-logical one of dialectic. Incidentally, we may note that Meno responds to this discipline. His replies, for instance, (judging also somewhat from the particles) seem more cautious after the demonstration with his slave-boy. Perhaps Meno is not simply "bird-witted" (Shorey, *What Plato Said*, 156) after all, even though he is not thoroughly cured, as this passage shows:

Since it is not by nature that the good become good, is it by education?

We must now conclude, I think, that it is; and plainly, Socrates, on our hypothesis that virtue is knowledge, it must be taught.

Yes, I daresay, but what if we were not right in agreeing to that?

Well, it seemed to be a correct statement a moment ago.

Yes, but not only a moment ago must it seem correct, but now also and hereafter, if it is to be at all sound. (89c)

However, the dialogue and Socrates' therapy does not end until 100b, where we find that Meno's intellectual and emotional disposition is milder. Socrates leaves him with these words, encouraging him to try to bring others to the calm state where the mind, purified by dialectic, is receptive to the truth sought:

Then the result of our reasoning, Meno, is found to be that virtue comes to us by a divine dispensation when it does come. But the certainty of this we shall only know when, before asking in what way virtue comes to mankind, we set about inquiring what virtue is, in and by itself. It is time now for me to go my way, but do you persuade our friend Anytus of that whereof you are now yourself persuaded, so as to put him in a gentler mood; for if you can persuade him, you will do a good turn for the people of Athens also. (100b)

There is much that we today can draw from this dialogue. This is an age of *action*, not of the source and purpose of all action, *contemplation*. We see men feverishly working for results, and no man considers in his heart. There is very little of the cognate sense of right values, and even much less contemplation of truth in the whirl of an atomic age. The *Meno* will always stand as a paradigm of mental discipline. It will warn us to control our mental energy, to focus our attention on the fundamental problems of life and thought. When speaking of the vision of God, St. Thomas Aquinas notes as a universal principle that "... *desiderium quodammodo facit disiderantem aptum et paratum ad susceptionem desiderati*."<sup>2</sup> Socrates says that even human wisdom comes as a divine dispensation. But he notes that it requires a preparation on the part of those to whom it comes. The groundwork or propaedeutic for the

reception of that truth is a desire and an exercise, an asceticism of dialectic absolutely essential to the intellectual life of a lover of wisdom.

## APPENDIX

### PROFESSOR JAEGER'S VIEW OF THE *MENO*

Meno's impetuosity seems to be all the more his fundamental difficulty in the light of Professor Werner Jaeger's view of the *Meno*, especially of the first part of the dialogue, where other commentators (according to Professor Jaeger) seem to understand that Socrates is really asking for a definition of terms, or at least for a definition of virtue. Impetuosity would certainly be the first obstacle to forming a definition if it were desired. If, however, a definition is not looked for seriously, then the disciplinary value of dialectic comes to the fore naturally.

Now, Professor Jaeger holds that Socrates tries to focus Meno's attention on the *Idea* so that Meno will see the One in the Many. This is an excellent explanation. Note for instance, the aptness of such expressions as: *eidos*, *apoblepov eis ti, kata holou*.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, it should be noted that Socrates never seriously attempts to define anything. He affects Gorgias' style, he admits that his own definitions of color, etc., are rather inadequate, and he makes absolutely no pretense at supplying an answer to the main question of the dialogue: "What is virtue?" At the same time, Socrates realizes that his definitions are necessary as prerequisites for *vision*, since perspective, exactness, and the like are prime requisites for clarity of insight. Two quotations will summarize Professor Jaeger's interpretation:

# The Mediaeval Scribe

THE PROJECT of microfilming the manuscript collection of the Vatican Library, with St. Louis University the depository of the microfilms, tempted me to think that a few bits of information on book production in the Middle Ages might be interesting.

In the summer of 1950 a four days' congress was held at Luxeuil in France to commemorate the coming to France fourteen centuries before of the Irish monk St. Columban and the foundation at Annegray near Luxeuil of the first Irish monastic community in continental Europe. This foundation was followed by many others made by the Saint and his disciples, in France, Switzerland, Austria and Italy. From these monasteries and from the Benedictine monas-

teries founded contemporaneously and subsequently from Italy and from England, radiated the influence which was to Christianize and civilize Western Europe.

The manuscripts brought by the missionaries formed in each monastery the nucleus of a library. In the scriptorium of the monastery these manuscripts were multiplied. Manuscripts were lent from one monastery to another to be copied, often with the stipulation that a copy be returned with the borrowed manuscript. This copy might then be passed on to another monastery. What a library was to a monastery is indicated by a proverb which appears for the first time in a letter written in 1170 by Canon Gottfried of Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge (i.e.,

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## MENO (continued)

Neither in the earlier dialogues nor here in *Meno* is a real definition of *arete* ever given, and it is clear that when he asks for the nature of *arete* he (Socrates) does not want a definition for an answer . . . The answer to "What is virtue?" is not a definition but an Idea.

The Idea is as Plato describes it, the penetration of thought from the phenomena to the true nature of *arete*, an act of intellectual vision which sees the One in the Many (the act is called *synopsis*).<sup>4</sup>

This focusing of attention is an act of the mind preparatory to the contemplation of truth. It requires an asceticism, a purposeful restraint. Even the desire for "an answer" in the form of a definition is subordinate to the desire for this vision. As a matter of fact, both vision and definition are to be reached through dialectic as Plato understands it. But

Plato realizes that "an answer" is no substitute for the perceived and known truth. Socrates, therefore, attempts to bridle Meno's emotional impetuosity and answer-devouring appetite by means of dialectic. Once Meno is gentler he may begin the beneficial search for truth and may help others do the same.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>*Meno*, 70a. This and subsequent translated passages are taken from the Loeb translation by W.R.M. Lamb, *Plato*, IV, New York, 1924. All numbers refer to the *Meno* unless otherwise assigned.

<sup>2</sup>*Summa Theologiae*, I, 12, 6c.

<sup>3</sup>*Meno*, especially 72c, 77a.

<sup>4</sup>Werner Jaeger, *Paideia—The Ideals of Greek Culture*, Oxford, 1943, II, 163, 165.

(See next page)

in Normandy): *Clastrum sine armario quasi castrum sine armamentario*. This proverb the writer further explains: "Our library is our arsenal. From it we bring forth, like so many sharp arrows to fight the enemy, thoughts from the divine law; thence we take the breastplate of justice, the helmet of salvation, the shield of faith and the sword of the spirit which is the word of God." As expansion of the proverb by a Carthusian monk in the fifteenth century reads: "A monastery without books is like a town without resources, a stronghold without walls, a kitchen without pans, a table without food, a garden without vegetables, a meadow without flowers, a tree without leaves."

The making of a book in the monastery meant besides the writing of the text the preparation of everything necessary for its production. The scribe had to prepare the parchment, the best material ever found for beautiful writing, and for receiving the gold and colors of illumination. He had to make the ink, the brilliant blackness of which has often remained until today. He had to fashion his pens, usually from the wing feathers of a goose, to grind his colors, and to prepare the gold which still glows astonishingly on the pages of thousands of mediaeval manuscripts.

The scribe not only had to provide the material for his manuscript, he even had to develop the script which he used. In the course of centuries, there evolved the beautiful legible letters which we know as lower-case Roman type. These, combined with the square capitals of the ancient Romans, as used by the Carolingian scribes, are the letters of our printed book.

Where the copyist of the ancient world wrote, *pro pretio*, the mediaeval scribe wrote, *pro remedio animae suae*, or, as

St. Jerome says, "that by reading he might fill his mind." The mediaeval scribe wrote also for his neighbor. Of the copyist, Cassiodorus writes: "with his fingers he gives life to men, and arms against the wiles of the devil. . . . What he writes in his cell will be scattered far and wide over distant provinces." The Carthusian monk says, "We, who cannot preach the word of God with our lips, will preach it with our hands."

The parchment was made from sheep or calf skin. The preliminary preparation was long and tedious and resulted, according to the treatment used, in a heavy sheet of suede-like texture, varying in color from yellow to ivory, or in a silky page as thin and delicate as India paper. This latter was used for the exquisite small illuminated Bibles of the thirteenth century which often contain 1500 pages, and are no more than two or three inches thick. The Newberry Library, Chicago, has one of these beautiful thirteenth century manuscript Bibles. Parchment was scarce. The scribe is credited with the exclamation: "O that all the sky were parchment, and all the sea were ink!" The *New York Times* of November 1, 1951, described the papal bull which promulgated the dogma of the Assumption. This document, handwritten on twenty-six sheets of parchment, each fifteen by twenty inches, contains about 6000 words. Each four sheets required one sheep skin. The text is only a third of the length of St. Matthew's Gospel which contains about 18,000 words and would therefore, all things being equal, have required the skins of about twenty sheep.

After the preliminary preparation of the parchment, there was the immediate

preparation. It had to be cut into sheets and the scribe had to plan the lay-out of the page. With a sense of beauty he instinctively aimed at a harmony between the written and blank spaces. Prof. E.A. Lowe says that in the early period there was a tendency to regulate the height of the script area by the over-all width of the page. The wide beautifully proportioned margins of a mediaeval manuscript are rarely seen in a modern book.

Before ruling, the scribe arranged the leaves with the yellow hair-sides facing each other and the white flesh-sides facing. Vellum was often so exquisitely prepared, however, that hair-side cannot be distinguished from flesh-side. The sheets were then pricked and ruled. E. K. Rand describes a refinement in dry point ruling, practiced at Tours, whereby the scribe so rules the sheets that, whereas in the normal way of ruling, ridge faces furrow, in the new style, not only are the facing pages one in color, but ridge faces ridge, and furrow, furrow. No pains were too great to be lavished on this preparation. We read of a division of labor, "Let one cut the parchment, another polish it, a third rule it." It is a matter of record for a chronicle that the twelfth century Abbot Rudolf of the monastery of St. Trond had as a deacon produced a gradual unaided: *Purgavit, punxit, sulcavit, scripsit, illuminavit, mysicae notas notavit syllabatum*. This preparation was often done by the monks in their cells after Compline, this time being chosen because they did not wish to waste on it the precious hours of daylight so necessary for the actual writing.

The hand-writing of the scribe was that current in his monastery at the time. There was no such thing as an individual hand.

Besides the script there were abbreviations

to be learned and, in the Carolingian age, the mediaeval system of shorthand or Tironian notes, not all 13,000 of them, we may suppose. Tironian was used in the guide titles which were written in spaces left blank by the scribe, where the special artist would later put in the ornamented titles. Corrections were made in Tironian, and Psalters, written entirely in this shorthand, are extant.

Punctuation also was a matter of attention for the scribe, although it was often put in subsequently to the transcription by the scribe or by a reviser. Punctuation varies from manuscript to manuscript; but, since its chief purpose was to facilitate reading aloud, what Rand called a "down-up" system was often used: to indicate a drop in the voice at a full stop, a high point with or without a descending line, and for a lesser pause, a mid point, with or without the ascending line to indicate a rising of the voice. The first to make extensive use of punctuation were the Irish, for whom Latin was a foreign language, and who, therefore, had greater need for the help to understanding which punctuation gives. Punctuation marks, especially in Irish manuscripts, as, for example, the *Book of Kells*, are often of great beauty and extraordinarily decorative.

Besides the copying of the text in black ink, there was also in many manuscripts the writing in of capitals in red and blue ink, often with graceful pen-made flourishes and ornamentation. In other manuscripts there were illuminated initial letters made with pen and brush, for which the whole gamut of colors and gold were used.

After the text was transcribed, the proof-reading had to be done. The text was corrected with the copy and often

compared with other manuscripts of the same text. Since the corrections had to be made directly on the manuscript the scribe, in order to preserve the beauty of the page, resorted to ingenious methods of correction to make it as little noticeable as possible. Besides the scribes, there were also special revisers. These were the best scholars of the monastery, and their work might be the occasion of a note on the manuscript, e.g., *Legi*, "I read it," thrice repeated, meaning I corrected this manuscript, i.e., read it through with the original or with other manuscripts three times. Another reviser is satisfied to write, *Emendabi semel*, "I corrected this once." That one was a corrector of manuscripts was considered a sufficient epitaph. On the tombstone of Williram, a German abbot of the eleventh century, his name and title are followed by the words *Correxī libros*, "I corrected books." Again we read that this work was done at night. For example, in the monastery of St. Gall, with the permission of the prior, certain of the monks used to meet in the scriptorium to correct manuscripts in the night interval between Matins and Lauds.

The scribe usually began the copying of his text with the word *Incipit*, followed by the title of the book. He ended with *explicit* or, if he was an Irish scribe, he might use *finit*. In the modern book, we find information in the dedication, preface, and introduction about the book, its author, and the circumstances under which it was written. In the manuscript, the scribe, who does not however often sign his name, tells us in these end notes almost everything we know about the scribe and the writing of the manuscript.

From a colophon we learn that the scribe wrote normally for two periods of

three hours each: "Arduous above all arts is the art of the scribe. His labor is difficult. It is hard to bend the neck and furrow parchment for twice three hours." This frequent interruption, Middleton says, explains the even beauty of the writing and illumination done in the monastery. There was neither hurry nor pressure of work. The periods were short, being interrupted by prayer or other duties.

It is pardonable for the scribe to rejoice when he comes to the last line. He compares himself to the sailor coming into harbor. This type of colophon has infinite variation. In an eighth century manuscript we read: "Dearly beloved who read this, I beg you by Him who formed us to pray for me, an unworthy sinner and the worst of writers, if you would have your reward with the Lord, our Savior. As the harbor is sweet to the sailor, so is the last line to the writer. He who does not know how to write thinks it is no labor. Yet, although the scribe writes with three fingers, his whole body toils." Another, also of an early date, the names in which are English, is all-inclusive in its petition: "As the harbor is welcome to the sailor, so is the last line to the scribe. Elbericht son of Berichtfrid wrote (i.e., copied) this commentary. May he who reads it pray for the writer. Similarly, he desires eternal salvation in Christ for all peoples, and tribes and tongues, and for the whole human race. Amen. Amen. Amen."

These personal subscriptions despite their simplicity are often moving because they reveal the scribe's love for the product of his hands. The *Book of Deer*, copied at St. Columba's foundation in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, has this colophon: "Be it on the conscience of everyone who may handle my beauti-



ful little book that he bestow a blessing on the soul of the poor wretch who copied it." A ninth century librarian and scribe of Reichenau composed, as a colophon for all the manuscripts he copied, a twelve-line poem, concluding with the gentle admonition to the reader: "Sweet friend, pay attention to the arduous labor of writing: Take up the book, read it, do not harm it, put it away." This veneration is natural. The books had been written in the very house in which they were read. They were its treasures. The librarian of St. Riquier in France, in a note appended to his library catalogue, refers to himself as "the unworthy treasurer," having in his care the "treasures of the monastery, the riches that feed the soul with the sweetness of heavenly life."

Other colophons refer to the reward of the scribe. The simplest of these reads: "Every labor has its end, but the labor's reward has no end." A monk at Arras in France in the eleventh century wrote, "For every letter, line and point, a sin is forgiven me." And William Dana Orcutt in his book *From my Library Walls* cites a similar colophon from a late manuscript written at Monte Cassino: "The transcription of this volume was completed on May 19, 1676, by Father Bartholomeo. In as much as Father Bartholomeo was promised forgiveness, one sin for each letter, he thanks God that the sum total of the letters exceeds the sum total of his sins, though but by a single unit." Orcutt comments: "Life in the monastery developed a rare brand of humor."

Because of his love for the books of his monastery, the scribe often added an anathema against any one who might carry off the book or harm it. Some of these anathemas are almost frighteningly vindictive, if it were not for the

charitable retraction at the end. One from Christ's Church, Canterbury, reads: "If any one removes this book from Christ's Church, by giving it as a gift, or by sale, borrowing, exchange, or theft, or in any other way knowingly alienate it, may he suffer the curse of Jesus Christ and of the most glorious Virgin, His Mother, and of St. Thomas, Martyr. Let this be, however, in such a way that, if it please Christ who is the patron of Christ's Church, his soul may be saved on the day of judgment." Occasionally we find in a manuscript the opposite of an anathema, a prayer for the one who would restore the book to its owner. In a manuscript now at Cambridge University, England, this note, an *ex-libris* rather than an end note, was written by the owner who was also the scribe: "Jasper Fyllol of the blacke friers in London oweth (i.e., owneth) this book. Yf it fortune at any time to be reklesly forgotten or losste, he prayeth the fynder to bryng yt to him agayn and he shall have iii s iii d for his labour, and good thanks of the owner, and goddis blessing." Three shillings, three pence constituted an ample reward when we consider that a half-penny a day was good pay for the hired secular scribe in the late middle ages.

In the thirteenth century a Council of Paris, having jurisdiction at least for France, forbade the placing of anathemas in books, saying that to lend books was one of the works of mercy. In this lending of books, monasteries often exhibited great mutual generosity. An instance is recorded in a note in a manuscript at Einsiedeln, Switzerland: "I, brother Heinrich, the unworthy librarian, had lent to the venerable abbot of the monastery of Fabariae (i.e., Pfäfers) a copy of this book so that he

might have it copied. The abbot kept the very old copy and gave us this new one."

Besides the end-notes, marginal jottings also shed light on the making of books. These marginalia come almost without exception from Irish scribes. They are written in the Irish pointed hand and usually in the Gaelic language. They have been gathered, translated and studied, notably by Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, and by E. W. Lindsay and Charles Plummer. The Irish scribe usually began his day's task of copying with a prayer: *Fave*, or *adiuva*, adding the name of Patrick or Bridget, or with the invocation, *Christe, benedic*. In one manuscript we find in Latin, "Lord, bless this work that it may be completed," and following in Irish, "God bless my hands today." The English scribe preferred the invocation, *Christe, fave votis*, or the *Chi Rho* monogram, which in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* is written in letters of gold.

The following verses occur as marginal prayers in manuscripts in the Newberry Library. In the upper margin of an eleventh century manuscript is written what is probably a verse, *ipse es qui vocaris alpha et ω*, where omega is pronounced O-O. The other which is found in two manuscripts is the first line of a sequence for Pentecost composed by Notker of St. Gall, *sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia!* to which one scribe adds *amen*. The prayer may take the form of a kneeling figure of the scribe, as in a thirteenth century manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library, where the scribe kneels beneath a miniature of the Annunciation, apparently uttering the prayer, *Mater misericordiae, miserere mei*.

Sometimes these marginalia seem to

be bits of conversation. For example, in Gaelic: "Sunday of a warm Easter." "It is cold today." "A blessing on the soul of Fergus." "It is time for us to begin to do some work." "I feel quite dull today—I do not know what is wrong with me." "I am very cold." "The parchment is rough—and the writing." "New parchment, bad ink; I say nothing more." "Nightfall and time for supper." "Thank God it will soon be dark." "Oh, that a glass of good old wine were at my side." "Oh, my hand." "That's a hard page and a weary work to read it." "Three pen-dips did that last column."

We feel perhaps a note of alarm in the entry, "The robin is singing wondrously to us and our cat has gone astray." Or, as in the Berne Horace, written in an Irish center in North Italy in the ninth century, the gloss may brand a foible. Beside the line, "One should not wish to seem whiter than nature has given one to be," are the words, *regina angelberga*. According to the editors of Horace, Keller and Holder, this queen, who became the wife of Louis II, King of the Lombards, in 856, and was therefore the scribe's contemporary, used white lead on her cheeks. Two other marginalia in the Berne Horace recall the Irish monk's *peregrinatio propter Christi amorem* and reflect his nostalgia for the skies and mists of Ireland. The first reads, "concerning those who die in the stranger's land." The second is the familiar *Chi Rho* monogram, the *chrismon*, placed beside the lines:

quod latus mundi nebulae malusque  
Iuppiter urget.

Other notes reflect the scribe's meditations. "Sad is that, little vareigated white book; a day will come in truth when someone over the page will say: 'The hand that wrote it is no more.'"



And again, "Alas, O hand, how much white vellum hast thou written! Thou wilt make famous the vellum, while thou thyself wilt be the bare top of a faggot of bones." "Love remains as long as property remains, Malleacán." "Easter eve tonight, and under the protection of the Son of Mary Who rose from the dead am I." "Eve of the feast of St. Catherine tonight, and under her grace am I." "The eve of the Annunciation, and I pray her to help my case, and far from home am I."

Occasionally we find comments on the text. Beside the sentence, Judas Iscariot betrayed the Lord with a kiss, the scribe writes in Gaelic, "Wretch." In a manuscript of *The Tale of Troy*, the scribe inserts a note after the death of Hector, "I am greatly grieved at the above-mentioned death." Beside the words, "Virgil, a great poet," is written "And not an easy one either." After a copy of the Greek alphabet, the scribe writes: "There is an end of that and my seven curses go with it." When there are defects in the manuscript which the scribe is copying, he notes, "Great is the ill-luck with which this book has met." After the words, "And the Druid sang a song," the scribe adds, "But I could not find it." Similar entries are not unknown outside the circle of Sedulius and his friends. A manuscript of the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas, now in Balliol College Library, Oxford, contains at the end an entry by the scribe, "Here Thomas dies. O death how art thou accursed!" The note recalls the story that Thomas, a few months before his death, while at work on the *Summa*, laid down his pen, saying, "I can write no more."

It is fair to note that the marginalia of Irish scribes, probably often pen-trials, occur for the most part in manu-

scripts which might be considered textbooks, as the Berne Horace, the St. Gall Priscian and the Laon copy of Cassiodorus's *Commentary on the Psalms*, that being carefully written they do not mar the page, and that the scribe had no supply of parchment for scrap paper.

In the mediaeval scribe's attitude towards the task of reproducing books, nothing is more striking than his joy. It is revealed on every hand. A regulation of an English monastery directs that no one who is absent from choir (i.e. from services in the church) on account of illness shall write in the scriptorium during the time the brethren are in choir. The Irish scribe's colophons, "A blessing go with thee, little book," and "Sad is this, little variegated white book," are interpreted by Plummer as expressions of regret at the completion of an agreeable assignment. The Irish copyist, who has moved his desk out of doors in order to write in the open, reveals his contentment in a brief Gaelic poem, which he writes on the margin of his manuscript:

A hedge of trees surrounds me; a black-bird's lay sings to me—praise which I will not hide.

Above my booklet, the lined one, the trilling of birds sings to me.

In a gray mantle the cuckoo sings to me from the top of bushes.

May the Lord protect me from doom!

I write well under the greenwood.

But there is no better way to gain an appreciation of the joy of the scribe than to examine a mediaeval manuscript. It need not be a sumptuous book. It may be a modest volume such as the little twelfth century copy by a German scribe of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* which is in the manuscript collection of the Newberry Library. The loving care of the scribe is manifest on every page. Although the leaves are

palimpsest, they are symmetrical, and the script is as neat and attractive as if the scribe were writing on new vellum. The scribe has also ornamented the lower margin of the page with simple yet graceful pen-made fancies to frame the syllables of the run-over words; among them, a curled acanthus leaf in red and green, a lion in red with leaves extending from its mouth to encircle the syllable *-or*, a dancing goat, the letters coming from its mouth, a bird, holding in its beak a tiny frame for the letters.

The joy of the scribe in his task is stressed by E. K. Rand in his essay, "A Romantic Approach to the Middle Ages." To exemplify this attitude of the mediaeval copyist, the author chooses a couplet written in praise of the scribe by the ninth century abbot, scholar and scribe, Hrabanus Maurus. I quote from Dr. Rand's essay: "Hrabanus is thinking not only of the writer's service in giving the precious page of sacred writ its due immortality. Pleasure accompanies his task. Loving care goes into the tracing of the words and the joy of an artist contemplates their making.

Nam digiti scripto laetantur, lumina visu  
Mens volvet sensu mystics verba dei,

'Fingers delight in the writing and  
eyes in the sight of the letters

While there indwells in his mind mystic  
communion with God.'

This is the joy, the sacred joy of the artist in his art."

I could find no more fitting conclusion to a paper on the mediaeval scribe than these words of the eminent classical scholar and mediaevalist.

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## Crossing A Classical River

THE PREVALENCE OF RIVERS as a universal topographic feature has continued to pose one basic traffic problem down through the ages: how to cross a confronting stream with a minimum of difficulty and delay. For the downstream traveler, the river is frequently a blessing; for the upstream traveler, it is often a possibility; but for the cross-stream traveler, the river is almost invariably a nuisance. A nuisance, that is, unless the wayfarer has the good fortune to be a close relative of the river in question, as was Crenaeus, grandson of the river Ismenos. "... merrily, now from this bank now from that, he crosses his caressing grandsire: the wave supports his footsteps, whether he go downstream or athwart the flood; nor when he goes counter does the river one whit delay him, but flows backward likewise."<sup>1</sup> Representing the exact opposite of the obliging Ismenos is the Asiatic Silas, surely one of the most difficult of all ancient rivers to cross, since on its surface nothing would float!<sup>2</sup> Yet even though they commonly lacked this convenient kinship with the appropriate river deities, the Classical peoples displayed their usual ingenuity in devising exotic ways and means of crossing the ancient river, in addition to their regular use of the more prosaic methods: swimming, fording, boating, and bridging.

Horatius<sup>3</sup> and Sertorius,<sup>4</sup> at the Tiber and at the Rhone, won lasting glory by swimming a river while fully armed, but this same weight of arms led the Roman legionnaire to attempt this method only as a last resort.<sup>5</sup> "... many tried to

swim the river, but their fastenings grip them, the belts impede their breathing, and the soaked corselets weigh down their bodies."<sup>6</sup> Many of the barbarians, on the other hand, were accomplished swimmers. Tacitus points the contrast: "... the Roman soldier is heavily weighted with arms and afraid of swimming, but the Germans are accustomed to swimming streams, are lightly armed, and their great stature keeps their heads above water."<sup>7</sup>

Anticipating the Underwater Demolition Teams of the modern Navy is an unidentified swimmer whose talents were gratefully utilized by Caesar's Military Intelligence to get an urgent message to Decimus across a river near Mutina; "... they scratched a few words on a thin sheet of lead, rolled up the lead like a piece of paper and gave it to a diver to carry across under water by night."<sup>8</sup>

Fording, the technical term for wading, can be easy or difficult, depending upon five major factors: enemy opposition; the temperature of the water; the type of river bottom; the depth of the river; and the rate of the current.

To counteract the presence of hostile forces opposing a landing, armies crossed rivers in regular battle formation. Philip once held the town of Conope under siege; "when a body of Aetolian cavalry ventured to meet him, at a ford of the river which runs in front of the town... the king... ordered his peltasts to enter the river first and land on the other bank in close order shield to shield and company by company."<sup>9</sup> The enemy quickly withdrew before such a determined and

disciplined crossing.

Snow-fed streams often proved much too cold for comfortable fording. "Now, the Eurotas at this time was flowing at its fullest, and deepest, since snows had fallen, and its current, even more from its coldness than its violence, was very troublesome to the Thebans."<sup>10</sup>

Rocks in the river bottom added immeasurably to the difficulties of a crossing on foot. Xenophon's Ten Thousand were considerably handicapped in their fording of the Centrites by the slippery stones in the river bed,<sup>11</sup> and when the troops of Alexander crossed the Guraeus, "... the rounded stones in the river proved very slippery to anyone stepping on them."<sup>12</sup> Livy calls the Druentia the most troublesome of all Gallic rivers to cross, in part because "... it rolls down jagged stones and affords no sure or stable footing to one who enters it."<sup>13</sup>

The maximum depth for routine fording can be estimated with some degree of probability. Polybius (3. 72. 4) notes that the Romans were hard pressed to ford the Trebia, since the water was breast-deep. Caesar calls his own fording of the Sicoris "... laborious and difficult; ... the foot-soldiers had only their shoulders and the upper part of their bodies above the surface."<sup>14</sup> In what was definitely an emergency crossing, Caesar forded the Loire "where the troops could just keep arms and shoulders clear of the water, to hold up their weapons. ..."<sup>15</sup> Significantly, the Ten Thousand, attempting to ford the Centrites under considerable pressure, nevertheless turned back when the water proved to be more than breast-deep.<sup>16</sup> They later crossed uneventfully at a spot where the water was less than waist-deep.<sup>17</sup> At Thapsacus, "Cyrus proceeded to cross the river, and the

rest of the army followed him, to the last man. And in the crossing no one was wetted above the breast by the water."<sup>18</sup> On the basis of these reports from the several historians, it may be conjectured that the maximum depth attempted in routine fording was approximately four feet.

A river too deep to ford played an important part in Rome's formative history. Hasdrubal "... did not intend to fight yet, but was anxious to join his brother. So he retreated. . . and wandered among swamps and pools and along an unfordable river, until at daybreak the Romans came up with them. . . and slew most of them with their officers."<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately for Carthage, Hasdrubal lacked riparian "know-how," for other military men succeeded in making even the deepest of ancient rivers fordable.

The Gydnes had the effrontery to drown one of the king's sacred white horses. "At this violent deed of the river Cyrus was very wroth, and he threatened it that he would make it so weak that women should ever after cross it easily without wetting their knees. Having so threatened he ceased from his march against Babylon, and dividing his army into two parts he drew lines planning out a hundred and eighty canals running every way from either bank of the Gydnes; then he arrayed his army along the lines and bade them dig. Since a great multitude was at the work it went with all speed; yet they spent the whole summer there before it was finished."<sup>20</sup> Herodotus (1. 75) tells the story of Thales and his diversion of the Halys: "Starting from a point on the river higher up than the camp, he dug a deep semicircular trench, so that the stream, turned from its ancient course, should flow in the

trench to the rear of the camp, and, again passing it, should issue into its former bed, so that, as soon as the river was thus divided into two, both channels could be forded." Caesar was forced to divert the Sisoris in Spain: "to prevent the need of always sending the cavalry over the bridge by a long circuitous route, finding a suitable spot, he decided to construct several ditches thirty feet wide, whereby he might divert some part of the Sisoris and make a ford in the river."<sup>21</sup> At the siege of Nesattium by Claudius, "a river which flowed past the walls and was both a hindrance to the besiegers and a water-supply to the Histrians, after many days' toil he diverted and led off by a new channel."<sup>22</sup>

Scipio, in the Hannibalic epic of Statius, threatens the flooded Trebia for endangering the passage of his troops: "O Trebia, you shall suffer as you deserve, and pay dearly for your treachery: I shall divide your stream and make it flow in separate channels through the land of Gaul; and I shall rob you of the name of river."<sup>23</sup> Even recalcitrant rivers were not exempt from Rome's efficient imperial maxim—Divide and Conquer!

The problem of stemming the force of the current during a crossing was solved in a variety of ways. It was common practice for armies to march upstream to cross through the shallow and slower source-waters.<sup>24</sup> This crossing at the source provided Timolaus of Corinth with a graphic simile, when he had occasion to address a congress of allies met to consider the current Spartan threat: "It seems to me," he said, "fellow allies, that the case of the Lacedaemonians is much the same as that of rivers. For rivers at their sources are not large, but easy to cross,

yet the farther on they go, other rivers empty into them and make their current stronger; and just so the Lacedaemonians, at the place whence they come forth, are alone by themselves, but as they go on and keep attaching the cities to them, they become more numerous and harder to fight against."<sup>25</sup>

Under the compulsion of military necessity, numerous means were employed to slow the current of the river. Alexander once crossed the Tigris in regular battle formation; the cavalry on the left wing broke the force of the current, while those on the right came to the rescue of any infantryman who might lose his footing.<sup>26</sup> Caesar used his cavalry for the same purpose at the Loire.<sup>27</sup> "Hannibal himself led his army across the Po by an upper ford, after placing the elephants in a line to break the current of the river."<sup>28</sup> Dio (14) further explains: "while the water was temporarily dammed and spread out by the animals' bulk, he effected a crossing more easily below them." And speaking of damming a river, the aggravations attendant upon many a difficult fording led the ancients frequently to damn the river with vigor, as on that unhappy occasion when the fleeing troops of Alexander of Epirus found their retreat blocked by the destruction of a bridge in the rising waters of the river. "As his company were making their way across the stream by a treacherous ford, a discouraged and exhausted soldier cried out, cursing the river's ill-omened name, 'You are rightly called the Acheron!'"<sup>29</sup>

At a ford of the Ebro, Caesar placed a great number of pack animals in the river above and below the crossing; "a few of these men were carried away by the strength of the current, but were caught and supported by the horsemen;

not one, however, was lost."<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, Mithridates "forded the Cynus at a point where the summer had made it passable, ordering the cavalry to cross downstream, with the baggage animals next, and then the infantry. His object was that the horses should break the violence of the current with their bodies, and if even so any one of the pack animals should be swept off its feet it might collide with the men crossing on the lower side and not be carried farther down."<sup>31</sup> This juxtaposition of men and animals in fording a stream—Caesar using his pack animals to protect his men, Mithridates his men to protect his pack animals—effectively points the contrast between the Roman and Oriental attitude towards men and *matériel*; Caesar safeguards his men at the expense of his *impedimenta*, that which gets in the way; Mithridates is quite willing to risk the loss of a few men to protect the necessities of life.

Obviously, one of the most common ways of crossing the Classical river was by the use of boats and rafts. Permanent ferries<sup>32</sup> were regularly provided at the established crossings, subject to fixed tolls, for "lawsuits are brought against the Maeander River for altering the boundaries of the countries on his banks. . . and. . . when he is convicted the fines are paid from tolls collected at the ferries."<sup>33</sup>

Armies, however, crossed in any boats that came to hand. The skiffs of the rivermen were employed wherever possible,<sup>34</sup> but the rank and file were singularly adept at providing boats of the types easily constructed in large quantities in a short time. Tree-trunk canoes of the dug-out type were frequently used,<sup>35</sup> as were the small framework types of boats. "As . . . the bridges

could not be completed, Caesar orders his men to build ships of the kind that his experience in Britain in previous years had taught him to make. The keels and the first ribs were made of light timber, and the rest of the hull was wattled and covered with hides."<sup>36</sup> Rufus constructed small boats of this type to cross the Straits of Messina; "he made a framework of light rods for the interior and stretched over them an uncured ox-hide after the manner of a circular shield."<sup>37</sup> Lucan (4. 130-136) describes Caesar's crossing of the Sicoris through the poet's eyes: "and as soon as the Sicoris left the plain and had banks again, osiers of hoary willow were steeped and plaited to form small boats, which, when covered with the skin of a slain ox, carried passengers and rode high over the swollen river. In such craft the Venetian navigates the flooded Po, and the Briton his wide Ocean; and so, when Nile covers the land, the boats of Memphis are tramed of thirsty papyrus."

These light "landing craft" were somewhat vulnerable in a rapid current and so were often protected during the crossing by the larger boats. When Hannibal crossed the Rhone, "the large boats were placed highest up stream and the lighter ferry-boats farther down, so that, the heavier vessels receiving the chief force of the current, the canoes should be less exposed to risk in crossing."<sup>38</sup>

Rafts were nailed or lashed together from logs and timber;<sup>39</sup> Caesar bridged the harbor at Brundisium with permanently anchored rafts,<sup>40</sup> and Hannibal transported his elephants across the Rhone on an ingenious bridge-raft.<sup>41</sup>

Both surviving literature and extant remains attest that the ancients were indefatigable bridge builders. Caesar's



minutely-described pile bridge over the Rhine<sup>42</sup> is too well-known to warrant inclusion here, but the magnificent stone bridges of Trajan are worthy of brief mention. Dio (68. 13. 1, 5) describes the bridge over the Ister: "Trajan constructed over the Ister a stone bridge for which I cannot sufficiently admire him. Brilliant, indeed, are his other achievements, yet this surpasses them. For it has twenty piers of squared stone one hundred and fifty feet in height above the foundations and sixty in width, and these, standing at a distance of one hundred and seventy feet from one another, are connected by arches. . . . merely the piers are standing, affording no means of crossing, as if they had been erected for the sole purpose of demonstrating that there is nothing which human ingenuity cannot accomplish." Since Trajan built that equally fabulous stone bridge over the Tagus in Spain, he is legitimately entitled to emphasize a statement by the oath: "'as I hope to cross the Hister and the Euphrates on bridges'"<sup>43</sup>

To forestall possible barbarian crossings, Hadrian is said to have removed the superstructure of Trajan's Ister bridge permanently,<sup>44</sup> but the bridge with a portable superstructure is by no means unknown in antiquity. Herodotus (I. 186) describes the bridge built by Queen Nitocris to connect the river-divided halves of the city of Babylon: "also she built a bridge with the stones which had been dug up, binding them together with iron and lead. She laid across it square-hewn logs each morning, whereon the Babylonians crossed; but these logs were taken away for the night, lest folk should be ever crossing over and stealing from each other." "That famous Sicilian despot, Dionysius. . . surrounded the

little house in which he used to sleep, with a deep trench and spanned it with a knockdown bridge, the planks and pins of which he took apart and carried with him when he went off to bed; and reassembled them at daybreak, when he was on his way out."<sup>45</sup> Perhaps this sanctuary is what Augustus had in mind when he chose to call the secluded room at the top of his house in Rome, "Syracuse."<sup>46</sup> Bridges of boats, of the type made famous by Xerxes at the Hellespont,<sup>47</sup> were frequently built for ancient river crossings. By drawing upon the descriptions of several historians,<sup>48</sup> it is possible to reconstruct a plausible picture of the building of the boat bridge. Flat-bottomed scows were commonly used, and the planks and beams and other paraphernalia needed for the bridge were carried in the boats themselves in large quantities. When the site of the bridgehead had been selected, the boats were anchored a bit upstream from the spot. At a given signal, the first boat was loosed and maneuvered into position close to the river bank by means of a skiff manned by oarsmen. The first boat was quickly anchored in place, stern downstream, by a wicker-basket filled with stones and attached to the boat by a strong cable. The floor of the bridge was immediately laid to the landing, and, when the second boat had been floated down and anchored, beams were quickly attached at prow and stern, projecting out on both sides. The second boat was anchored just at the right interval to carry the superstructure safely."<sup>49</sup> When enough boats had been arranged at equal intervals to extend over to the opposite shore, (Cyrus crossed the Maeander where "the width of this river is two plethra,"<sup>50</sup> and there was a

bridge over it made of seven boats"<sup>51</sup>) the whole was anchored "to make the bridge more secure; the cables they did not draw taut, but let them hang loose, so that when the river rose the line of boats was lifted without being disturbed."<sup>52</sup> The planking of the bridge was then laid over the gangways of the ships on the transverse beams at prow and stern. To complete the work, the further gangway was thrown forward to bond the whole structure to the opposite shore. This type of bridge was in great favor among ancient military commanders, since it was quickly constructed<sup>53</sup> and easily destroyed;<sup>54</sup> it still survives in certain sections of the East.<sup>55</sup>

Herodotus (1. 138) notes that the great reverence which the Persians had for rivers would not suffer them even to wash their hands in one. This is perhaps at least a contributing reason why the Persian soldiers were trained "to cross torrential streams in such a way as to keep both armour and clothing dry."<sup>56</sup> Procopius (2. 21. 21-22) may provide a clue as to the efficient Persian method: "the Persians are able to cross all rivers without the slightest difficulty because when they are on the march they have in readiness hook-shaped irons with which they fasten together long timbers, and with the help of these they improvise a bridge on the spur of the moment wherever they may desire." Such commendable competency was perhaps not re-achieved by the military until the invention of the Bailey Bridge in World War II, that bridge whose pre-fabricated parts, reminiscent of the well-known Gilbert Erector Sets, can be extended to virtually any length without intervening piers.

The ancients also developed the predecessor of the modern pontoon bridge, Although Maximinus once crossed the Sontius on a bridge laid over a row of wine casks," the inflated skin was commonly used in the manufacture of such a bridge. The army of Julian was provided with a special corps of *utricularii*; on one occasion, the troops "now eager to cross, were delayed only by the promise of the pontoon builders to make bridges of bladders from the hides of slain animals."<sup>57</sup> Once, when the way of the Ten Thousand was blocked by a deep river, the generals were considerably disturbed.

In the midst of their perplexity a Rhodian came to them and said: "I stand ready, gentlemen, to set you across the river, four thousand hoplites at a time, if you will provide me with the means that I require and give me a talent for pay." Upon being asked what his requirements were, he replied: "I shall need two thousand skins. I see plenty of sheep and goats and cattle and asses; take off their skins and blow them up, and they would easily provide the means of crossing. I shall want also the girths which you use on the beasts of burden; with these I shall tie the skins to one another and also moor each skin by fastening stones to the girths and letting them down into the water like anchors; then I shall carry the line of skins across the river, make it fast at both ends, and pile on brushwood and earth. As for your not sinking, then, you may be sure in an instant on that point, for every skin will keep two men from sinking; and as regards slipping, the brushwood and the earth will prevent that."<sup>58</sup>

The generals unanimously agreed that it was a clever idea, but rather impractical, and dismissed the Rhodian, we may imagine, with the admonition that he had been reading too much Herodotus.

But in addition to swimming, fording, bridging, and boating, the Classical



peoples crossed their rivers in a remarkable number of ingenious ways. Occasionally, they received an assist from the elements.

... there is a river called the Macaras which shuts off in certain places the access from the town (Carthage) to the country. The river is for the most part unfordable owing to the volume of water, and there is only one bridge, which Matho had also secured, building a town at the bridgehead. So that not only was it impossible for the Carthaginians to reach the country with an army, but it was not even an easy matter for single persons wishing to get through to elude the vigilance of the enemy. Hamilcar, seeing all these obstacles, after passing in review every means and every chance of surmounting this difficulty about a passage, thought of the following plan. He had noticed that when the wind blew strongly from certain quarters the mouth of the river got silted up and the passage became shallow just where it falls into the sea. He therefore got his force ready to march out, and keeping his project to himself, waited for this to occur. When the right time came he started from Carthage at night, and without anyone noticing him, had by daybreak got his army across at the place mentioned.<sup>60</sup>

The Pyramus in Catonia is a remarkable stream; "when it reaches the Taurus, it undergoes a remarkable contraction. . . . The whole intervening bed is rock, and it has a cleft through the middle which is so deep and so extremely narrow that a dog or hare could leap across it."<sup>61</sup>

Polybius (10.8. 2-8) tells of an unusual river in India:<sup>62</sup>

It is considered marvelous how the nomads passing the Oxus on foot with their horses reach Hyrcania. . . . The Oxus, I should say, rises in the Caucasus, but in traversing Bactria greatly increases in volume owing to the number of tributaries it receives, and henceforth runs through the plain with a strong and turbid current. Reaching in the desert a certain precipice it projects its stream, owing to the volume

of the current and the height of the fall, so far from the crest of the cataract that in falling it leaps to a distance of more than a stade from the bottom of the precipice. It is in this place that they say the Apasiacae pass dry-shod with their horses to Hyrcania, skirting the precipice under the waterfall. There is more reasonable probability in the second account than in the first. They say there are at the foot of the cataract large slabs of rock on which the river falls, and by the force of the current hollows out and pierces these rocks for some depth and flows underground for a short distance, after which it comes to the surface again. The barbarians are acquainted with this and cross to Hyrcania with their horses at the place where the river thus interrupts its course.

Rivers were occasionally crossed on the ice. "The Iazyges were conquered by the Romans on land at this time and later on the river. By this I do not mean that any naval battle took place, but that the Romans pursued them as they fled over the frozen Ister and fought them there as on dry land."<sup>63</sup> Yet in explaining Trajan's action in building a stone bridge across this same river, Dio (68.13.6) writes: "Trajan built the bridge because he feared that some time when the Ister was frozen over war might be made upon the Romans on the further side, and he wished to facilitate access to them by this means." Valentinian once took occasion to warn his son, Gratian: "accustom yourself fearlessly to make your way with the infantry over the ice of the Danube and the Rhine."<sup>64</sup> Ice fighting was a common occurrence on the frozen Bosphorus; "the frosts are so severe at the mouth of Lake Macotis that, at a certain spot where, in winter time, Mithridates' general conquered in a cavalry engagement fought on the ice, he afterwards, in summer time, when the ice had melted, defeated the same barbarians in a naval engagement."<sup>65</sup>

Marcellinus (17.2.3) reports: "then Caesar (Julian), being very shrewd and fearing that the savages might take advantage of some moonless night and cross the frozen river, gave orders that every day, from near sunset to the break of dawn, soldiers should row up and down stream in scouting vessels, so as to break up the cakes of ice and let no one get an opportunity of easy escape."

And last on the list of natural aids to crossing a river, if enough people have gathered at the river and wish to get across badly enough, they might duplicate the feat of Xerxes' horde and join forces to drink the river dry!<sup>65</sup>

Soldiers in the army of Julian made use of their shields in crossing;<sup>67</sup> but, handy as the shields were for this purpose, the greatest aid to the non-aquatic soldiers were the inflated skins. "Across the Euphrates river in the course of these desert marches was a large and prosperous city named Charmande, and here the soldiers made purchases of provisions, crossing the river on rafts in the following way: they took skins which they had for tent covers, filled them with hay, and then brought the edges together and sewed them up, so that the water could not touch the hay; on these they would cross and get provisions."<sup>68</sup> When Alexander reached the Oxus, "he had no boats, nor could a bridge be set up, since all the land around the river was bare and especially lacking in timber. Therefore he adopted the only expedient that necessity had suggested; he distributed as many skins stuffed with straw as possible; lying upon these, they swam across the river."<sup>69</sup>

These tent covers filled with straw even proved superior to the regular boats on occasion; "at the point where Alexander crossed it (the Acesines)

with his army, on the boats and hides, it is very swift, with great and sharp rocks. . . . For those who crossed on the hides, he says, the crossing was easy; but a good number of those who made the transit in the boats were lost in the stream, since several boats were dashed upon the rocks and so were wrecked."<sup>70</sup> When Hannibal crossed the Rhone, "the Spaniards without more ado stuffed their clothes into skins, and placing their bucklers on top of these and supporting themselves by means of these, swam across."<sup>71</sup> Skin-swimming was an old Spanish custom; Caesar writes (and I cannot resist quoting the Loeb translator exactly): "and for them (the Lusitanians) it was easy to swim across the rivers, it being their general custom never to join the main army without bladders."<sup>72</sup>

The Romans knew the bagpipe, for Nero once promised to give a public performance as a *utricularius*.<sup>73</sup> Although I regret that I can supply no ancient example of the use of the bagpipe on the water, the quick thinking of one Donald Ferguson, a piper in the army of Bonnie Prince Charlie, suggests the possibility. Thrown off a bridge into the Isla during a skirmish, Donald, no swimmer, fortunately clung to his pipes in his descent, and these, with remarkable presence of mind, he kept blowing with vigor, and the inflated bag kept him comfortably above water until his convulsed companions could come to his rescue.<sup>74</sup>

But it was left for one Papa, King of the Armenians, to devise the most ingenious use of the inflated skins for crossing a river. Confronted by the swollen Euphrates, "they took the beds which they found in the farmhouses and supported each of them upon two bladders, of which there was an abundance

supply in the vine-producing fields. The prince himself and his most distinguished followers seated themselves each upon one of these. . . and by taking oblique courses. . . at length reached the opposite bank."<sup>75</sup>

Of all the ways of crossing the Classical river, however, surely none is more bizarre than the bridge of bodies. Publius Cornelius offers an interesting sidelight on the war with Hannibal: "they (the Carthaginians) cast our men, whom they had taken prisoner, into ditches and rivers, making bridges of their bodies to pass over."<sup>76</sup> Italicus describes the battle on the Metaurus: "and soon by mutual slaughter the wide-spreading fields were covered with dead men's bodies, and the corpses that fell into the river were heaped up till they made a bridge across it."<sup>77</sup> The

dam of bodies suggests its possible use as a bridge; "the troubles in Germany were settled by Cerialis in the course of numerous battles, in one of which so great a multitude of Romans and barbarians was slain that the river flowing near by was dammed up by the bodies of the fallen."<sup>78</sup> Caesar's description of the slaughter of the Belgae at the Axona may well be the source of this vivid battlefield description: "our troops attacked the enemy while in difficulties in the river, and slew a great number of them; the remainder, as they endeavoured with the utmost gallantry to cross over the bodies of their comrades they drove back,"<sup>79</sup> with staggering losses. Plutarch notes the incident: "he fell upon the enemy as they were plundering the Gauls that were in alliance with Rome, and so routed and destroyed the least scattered and most numerous of them. . . that the Romans could cross lakes and deep rivers for the multitude of dead bodies in them."<sup>80</sup>

Appian, too, records the gory incident: "afterwards Caesar fell upon the so-called Belgae as they were crossing a river, and killed so many of them that he crossed the stream on a bridge of their bodies."<sup>81</sup> The bridge of bodies is easily the most grisly—and the most expensive—of all bridges over any river, past or present.

So much then, for Classical crossings, standard, exotic, and otherwise. Now if, as the spiritual suggests, we all have "One more river to cross!", and if that river should turn out to be the Styx, and if by some mischance you should happen to miss the boat, then once again your Classical education will prove its practicality, and you, at least, can get across, Charon or no Charon!

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#### NOTES

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<sup>1</sup>Stat. *Theb.* 9.324-7. Translations from classical authors are taken from the "Loeb Classical Library" editions.

<sup>2</sup>Strab. 15.1.38.

<sup>3</sup>Livy 2.10.11.

<sup>4</sup>Plut. *Sert.* 3.1.

<sup>5</sup>Livy 5.38.8.

<sup>6</sup>Stat. *Theb.* 239-41.

<sup>7</sup>Tac. *Hist.* 5.14. Cf. Cass. Dio 60.20.2; 62.5.6.

<sup>8</sup>Cass. Dio. 56.36.5.

<sup>9</sup>Polyb. 4.64.4-6.

<sup>10</sup>Plut. *Ages.* 32.2.

<sup>11</sup>Xen. *An.* 4.3.6.

<sup>12</sup>Arr. *Anab.* 4.25.7. Cf. Quint. Curt. 9.2.1.

<sup>13</sup>Livy 21.31.11. Cf. Polyb. 3.72.4.

<sup>14</sup>Caes. *BCiv.* 1.61.

<sup>15</sup>Caes. *B Gall.* 7.56.

<sup>16</sup>Xen. *An.* 4.3.6.

<sup>17</sup>Xen. *An.* 4.3.12.

<sup>18</sup>Xen. *An.* 1.4.18.

<sup>19</sup>App. *Hann.* 7.8.52.

<sup>20</sup>Hdt. 1.189.

<sup>21</sup>Caes. *BCiv.* 1.61.

<sup>22</sup>Livy 41.11.3.

<sup>23</sup>Sil. *Pun.* 643-5.

- <sup>24</sup>Marcellin. 18.7.10. Cf. App. Hann. 7.640.  
<sup>25</sup>Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.11.  
<sup>26</sup>Quint. Curt. 4.9.17.  
<sup>27</sup>Caes. *B Gall.* 7.56.  
<sup>28</sup>Livy 21.47.4. Cf. Dio 14 (Zonaras 8.24).  
<sup>29</sup>Livy 8.24.11.  
<sup>30</sup>Caes. *BCiv.* 1.64.  
<sup>31</sup>Cass. Dio 37.3.4.  
<sup>32</sup>Marcellin. 19.8.9.  
<sup>33</sup>Strab. 12.8.19.  
<sup>34</sup>Livy 26.7.9. Cf. Polyb. 3.42.1; 5.45.3-4.  
<sup>35</sup>Livy 21.26.9; Cf. Marcellin. 14.2.10; 24.3.11.  
<sup>36</sup>Caes. *BCiv.* 1.54.  
<sup>37</sup>Cass. Dio 47.18.2.  
<sup>38</sup>Polyb. 3.43.3.  
<sup>39</sup>Polyb. 3.42.8; Cf. Livy 5.35.2; 7.17.8; 26.9.5.  
<sup>40</sup>Caes. *BCiv.* 1.25.  
<sup>41</sup>Polyb. 3.45.6. Cf. Livy 21.28.6-12.  
<sup>42</sup>Caes. *B Gall.* 4.17. Cf. Caes. *B Gall.* 6.9.  
<sup>43</sup>Marcellin. 24.3.9.  
<sup>44</sup>Cass. Dio 68.13.6.  
<sup>45</sup>Marcellin. 16.8.10.  
<sup>46</sup>Suet. *Aug.* 2.72.2.  
<sup>47</sup>Hdt. 7.35, 36.  
<sup>48</sup>Arr. *Anab.* 5.7.3-8. Cf. Marcellin. 27.5.2; Tac. *Hist.* 2.34; Cass. Dio 71.3 (Suidas s.v. Zeugma).  
<sup>49</sup>Arr. *Anab.* 5.7.4.  
<sup>50</sup>Approximately 200 feet.  
<sup>51</sup>Xen. *An.* 1.2.6.  
<sup>52</sup>Tac. *Hist.* 2.34.  
<sup>53</sup>Arr. *An.* 5.7.3.  
<sup>54</sup>Livy 21.47.3.  
<sup>55</sup>The National Geographic Magazine 84.2 (1943) 134; 85.3 (1944) 367.  
<sup>56</sup>Strab. 15.3.18.  
<sup>57</sup>Jupiter Capitolinus *The Two Maximini* 22.4.  
<sup>58</sup>Marcellin. 25.6.15.  
<sup>59</sup>Xen. *An.* 3.5.8-11.  
<sup>60</sup>Polyb. 1.75.5-9.  
<sup>61</sup>Strab. 12.2.4.  
<sup>62</sup>Cf. Strab. 11.7.5.  
<sup>63</sup>Cass. Dio 72.7.1.  
<sup>64</sup>Marcellin. 27.6.12.  
<sup>65</sup>Strab. 21.1.16. Cf. Hdt. 4.28; Strab. 7.13.18.  
<sup>66</sup>Hdt. 7.108, 109, 196.  
<sup>67</sup>Marcellin. 16.11.9; 16.12.7; 24.6.7.  
<sup>68</sup>Xen. *An.* 1.5.10. Cf. Xen. *An.* 2.4.28; Arr. *Anab.* 1.3.6; 3.29.4; Quint Curt. 7.8.6, 7.9.4.  
<sup>69</sup>Quint. Curt. 7.5.17, 18.  
<sup>70</sup>Arr. *Anab.* 5.20.9.  
<sup>71</sup>Livy 21.27.5.  
<sup>72</sup>Caes. *BCiv.* 1.48.  
<sup>73</sup>Suet. *Ner.* 54.  
<sup>74</sup>Frank Adam, *The Clans, Septs & Regiments of the Scottish Highlands* (Edinburgh and London 1908) 244.  
<sup>75</sup>Marcellin. 30.1.9. For another fabulous crossing, cf. Frontin. *Str.* 3.13.6.  
<sup>76</sup>App. *Pun.* 8.9.63. Cf. Frontin. *Str.* 1.5.20.  
<sup>77</sup>Sil. *Pun.* 766-768.  
<sup>78</sup>Cass. Dio 65.3.3. Cf. Sil. *Pun.* 46-48.  
<sup>79</sup>Caes. *B Gall.* 2.10.  
<sup>80</sup>Plut. *Caes.* 20.3-4.  
<sup>81</sup>App. *Gall.* 4.1.4.

## PHOTOGRAPHS FROM ATHENS

The large collection of photographic prints and negatives, built up by the German Institute in Athens before the war, has suffered few losses and is once more in order. Enquiries and requests for prints should be addressed to the Secretary of the German Archaeological Institute, Dr. Emil Kunze, 1 Pheidias Street, Athens. Requests should include all the known data for a given picture: Institute negative number; museum number of object; publication reference.

A small collection of new pictures is also available. Alison Frantz has prepared a selected list of her recent black and white pictures of Greek sites and monuments other than the Athenian Agora; she will be glad to send this list to anyone interested. The emphasis is on pictures suitable for teaching use in architecture, history and fine arts. Enquiries should be addressed to Miss Alison Frantz, American School of Classical Studies, 54 Souedias Street, Athens.

# THE REVIEW CUPBOARD

By Grundy Steiner

Et summis admiratio  
veneratioque et  
inferioribus merita  
laus

THE OBJECT of this column in this issue is to clear the shelves of textbooks both foreign and domestic. Some are merely school editions of school authors; others attempt new things or else attempt old things in unconventional ways. They reveal that a considerable ferment of experimental activity is abroad in the land among teachers of elementary courses.

Particular attention is drawn to the first book reviewed (McCarthy's *Shady Hill Lessons*) for a masterful presentation of Latin by the inductive method. Likewise notable are Dane's brave venture in presenting both Greek and Latin simultaneously, Thompson's *Ovid* (with extensible basic vocabulary while all other words are supplied in the footnotes), Marinone's introduction to the Verrine trial (as an example of compact textbook construction), Fullwood's venture in controlling student use of translations, and usable texts of the *De Legibus* and *Orator* in the Heidelberg Latin series. This series, it should be noted, solves some of the problems connected with the cost and availability of school dictionaries by printing separate, inexpensive glossaries for many of the selections on its list.

## ELEMENTARY TEXTS

*Shady Hill Latin Lessons*. By JAMES P. MCCARTHY. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. 150; 75 assignment sheets. (Teacher's Guide, pp. (4), 20.) \$3.75.

ANYONE who thinks he cannot teach beginning Latin without 150 pages of collateral reading in English need not order an examination copy of this. It is not for him. And it is not for anyone who wants 250 colored illustrations, or who thinks beginning texts must incorporate the made-Latin adventures of little Taediosus and his cousin Infausta, or, least of all, who insists that a beginning text must print paradigms and a summary of grammar.

To confess it, there are no pictures in this book, no collateral reading, no connected Latin stories (although a few paragraphs of Caesarean Latin do appear), no paradigms (except a few irregular verbs in part), no summary of grammar at the end or even as the lessons are presented, no English-to-Latin vocabulary (although much Latin composition), and even the Latin vocabulary itself is a naked wordlist in which the student must supply the meanings of words as he meets them. The book obviously prints neither the skeleton underlying virtually all other texts nor bloats itself with the glorifying extras which have produced corpulence in virtually all high school Latin books since the Classical Investigation.

Why, then, did the President and Fellows of Harvard College consent to the printing of this unorthodox book? Because, this reviewer suspects, they were convinced (as he is convinced) that it should, in the hands of a competent teacher who is "sold" on the method, provide one of the most rewarding linguistic adventures possible in our educational system. It presents a prolonged exercise in logic, proceeding step by step from "*Agricola laborat*" to "*Exploratores dixerunt futurum esse ut carri ne singuli quidem per illa itinera trahi possent.*" The Latin language is here caused to reveal, point by point (with almost the pleasurable suspense of a mystery novel), the full measure of its paradigms and all the basic rules of its grammar. By the conclusion of the last lesson the student (closely guided by his teacher to prevent false steps and faltering) will have mastered those paradigms and constructions (including most uses of the subjunctive), will have reconstructed a vocabulary containing all the words of the Secondary Education Board Latin Word List (and many others beside), and will have built for himself (in a notebook) a Latin grammar.

The *modus operandi* follows this pattern:

In Lesson I, on the basis of vocabulary (and with the guidance of the instructor) students translate, in class, sentences like "*Filia cantat.*" Then they meet up with compound subjects which introduce plural forms of the verb (3rd person), "*Agricola et nauta stant.*" Once the *-nt* ending has been recognized as indicating plurality, the author introduces "*Feminae cantant,*" hence the nominative plural. 'Guide questions' follow each group of sentences to bring out the new principle and English-to-Latin sentences cap each lesson to underscore all that has been covered. In Lesson III sentences like "*Nauta pecuniam habet*" introduce the accusative forms. In Lesson XXIV first and second declensional adjectives are used to facilitate the identification of the forms of nouns in the third declension.

A typical lesson contains a list of Latin words with blanks for their meanings followed by a collection of derivatives (or related Latin words) from which the student is supposed to divine the meanings. (This is probably the weakest point in the text, for "sociable" will not necessarily lead to the right meaning for "*socius*," nor "ventilate," for "*ventus*.") Then comes drill upon forms or constructions already known. Next, sentences from which the new forms or principles are to be reconstructed by way of questions and control by the teacher. Then come translation and composition sentences and finally a review of forms or constructions. The assignment sheets normally involve the recording of forms or constructions learned in the student's own "Reference Grammar"—a notebook which he is expected to keep as the course advances—and more translation and composition.

Various points in the administration of the course built around the text should be noted. Lessons 1-37 are intended for use in Grade 8; 38-75, in Grade 9. Each student is to have a looseleaf notebook with sections for Lessons, Assignments, Reference Grammar, Classroom Notes, and Vocabulary. The teacher is to control all copies of the textbook (really a pad of lesson materials), and is to dole out to the class, each meeting, the lesson and assignment sheet for the day. This keeps any lamb from spoiling the technique or getting an unfair advan-

tage by browsing ahead (at least the first year the text is used). The student constructs his own reference grammar (both forms and syntax) with supervision, on the basis of the daily lessons, both in and out of class. As part of each assignment, he must record in the general vocabulary (Latin to English only) the meanings of all new words found in the current lesson. The text is preparatory to Caesar who is to be read immediately upon its completion.

All this should convince the prospective user whether or not to request an examination copy. (Anyone who does so should tear the pad apart and put its contents in a notebook so he can examine it in peace.)

The book presents a method which could be deadly in the hands of a relentless academician; yet it is admirably calculated to get the student to approach Latin in the proper way. If any method can get him to utilize what he has already learned to explain new phenomena in front of him, this is it. Even though blind alleys develop in translating vocabulary words through the medium of derivatives, the practice should reduce the wear and tear on the thumbs produced by habitual, unimaginative, instantaneous flipping to the back of the book at the sight of any slightly unfamiliar word in context. Whether Latin is learned any more quickly this way, or any more permanently, one can find out only by trial. The author, incidentally, has developed the method during some twenty years of teaching and has utilized the textbook at Shady Hill School, Cambridge, Mass.; hence the title. Other teachers have reportedly employed it with success.

A reading of the set of lessons convinces one that it is a thorough and finished product, prepared by a highly competent teacher, and which may be used with confidence by teachers who wish to employ the method in question. Those who do not should leave it alone. Teaching methods can be highly personal things.

*An Introduction to the Languages and Literatures of Greece and Rome.* By NATHAN DANE II. Gorham, Me.: Postway Press, 1952. (May be purchased from Moulton Union Book Store, Brunswick, Me.) Pp. (6), 33. Two folding charts. \$1.50.

THIS IS even more unusual and frankly experimental. The aim is, within a single



course, to give the student a basic knowledge of both Classical languages and some acquaintance with both literatures. The *modus* is to have the student translating actual Latin and Greek from the start, with the teacher and text between them supplying all the essential information about vocabulary, forms, pronunciation, constructions, nuances of meaning, etc.

A typical lesson presents a passage (often only a single sentence) from Greek with its ancient Latin translation. There follow notes on the pronunciation of any sounds not previously met, on vocabulary and syntax, and on derivatives. Occasional review and sight reading (e.g. Lessons 1-8 gave *Jn.* 1.1-7 from both the Greek and the Vulgate; Lesson 9 prints *Jn.* 1.1-11 for review and sight work) and other lessons (e.g. 10) summarize forms, terminology, and essential elements of vocabulary.

Lessons 1-20 are based upon the NT; 21-36, upon Cicero and Plato; 37-38, upon fable literature; 39, upon Simonides and Cicero; 40, upon selections from Epic and Lyric poetry. The essential forms of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns for both languages are presented in parallel columns in a chart inside the front cover; those of verbs, inside the back. Since there are no vocabularies, students must have access to Greek and Latin dictionaries. There is no composition in either language.

This is not a complete textbook worked out in detail to meet all likely contingencies, nor is it one which can teach itself to a person who has never had any inflected language. Rather, it is an outline and a point of departure for the instructor (who is expected to follow it up with works like the *Tablet of Cebes* in Greek and the *Somnium Scipionis* in Latin).

One gains the impression that a leisurely approach and a teacher who really knows what he is doing should get a very respectable amount of both languages across to a class worth shooting. The teacher must know both languages beautifully and have a flair for spotting what students need to know at any given minute. He must then explain it to them in such a way that they feel they are making progress from the very start. (Dane does very well in this connection with his explanatory notes, but everything cannot be told in such small compass.)

The prospect of teaching two languages simultaneously seems a little frightening. Probably the vocabulary and forms of neither will be grasped too securely at first. Yet there is a great economy to be achieved in learning parallel forms and constructions together, and the notes do point up that economy.

As remarked above, instruction is a very personal matter at any time. Despite the professional educators and their nauseating hours of pedagogy which decimate the ranks of potential, good high school teachers, there are few quotable rules for how to transmit knowledge. Any instructor who has doubts about his own capacity to use, or his students' capacity to receive, this book, had better leave it alone. In the hands of the right instructors, however, it should be an effective instrument of education and they will bring to their classes all that is implied in the title.

*Greek Through Reading.* By J. A. NAIRN and G. A. NAIRN. London: Ginn and Company Ltd., 1952. (U. S. orders through Ginn & Co., Foreign Dept., 72 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C.) Pp. xvi, 384. \$2.40.

THIS REMARKABLE text deserves to be discussed in company with the two preceding, remarkable texts. It is the most comprehensive, comprising within 400 pages a brisk elementary grammar, a reader of 138 pages, a respectable reference grammar, and a course in composition (60 passages) to parallel the contents of the reader. And there are numerous rather attractive illustrations, both photographs of sculptures and drawings based upon vase paintings.

The presentation is not conventional, although a determined beginner might be able to teach himself the language without a guide at that. Conspicuously, it is not easy, for the essentials of Greek grammar are presented in seventeen crowded lessons replete with sentences for translation and composition. And while the readings should provide a good cross-section of Greek literature, it is admitted, even by the authors in their prospectus, that the second half of the set will "make considerable demands upon the intelligence."

The authors proceed upon the stated as-

sumption (p.v.) that their students will all have had Latin and that the obvious parallels will greatly facilitate the acquisition of the second inflected language. Unlike Dane, however, they apparently expect the teacher or the student and not the text to point up those parallels. The aim is to have the beginner reading genuine Greek of various styles at the earliest possible moment. Of the 130 paragraphs of readings, only the first fourteen are of made Greek, although some Homeric passages are made over into prose and all Herodotean passages are adapted to Attic. Other writers represented rather generously include Apollodorus, Aesop, Lucian, Xenophon, Thucydides, the *Anthology*, and Plutarch.

The major divisions of the book include "Passages in Greek" arranged by topics (e.g. "Greece and Athens," "Home Life," and "Travel"), "The Alphabet" (including pronunciation), "Introductory Exercises" (the seventeen lessons), "Grammar (including paradigms, syntax (in considerable detail), and irregular verbs), "English into Greek" and the usual vocabularies and index. There are two maps inside the covers, including one of the Mediterranean with all place names in Greek.

Taken by itself, the book appears too difficult for an ordinary class which might fare well with an orthodox text. But we are here dealing with extraordinary texts—texts which the instructor makes feasible to use. In the hands of an instructor who knows how to dilute the distillate of grammatical information in the seventeen lessons as well as to encourage his flock through the rougher passages for translation, *Greek Through Reading* is likely to come off very respectably. Certainly the student will have sampled broadly in Greek literature and will have a far better perspective than one brought up on Xenophon alone.

### EASY READING

*Latin and the Romans, Book Two.* New ed. By THORNTON JENKINS and ANTHONY PELZER WAGENER. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1952. Pp. xiv, 586. \$3.60.

THE CHIEF variation from the first edition is that the "amount of reading from Caesar in the present, new edition has been

reduced to permit the inclusion of . . . selected portions of Vergil's *Aeneid*" (p. iv). These selections should enable the teacher who wishes to experiment with Vergil in the second year to do so without totally forsaking the usual pastures.

Vergil is represented by 469 lines, giving much of the narrative of *Aen.* 1 and 4 (with 26 lines from *Aen.* 6). The nature of the excerpting is indicated by the passages which comprise the first 71 lines printed (*Aen.* 1.81-91; 102-107; 113-129; 131-134; 142-143; 148-156; 157-164; and 166-179). It is difficult to estimate the amount of Caesar actually printed, but the passages come from *BG* 1.1-12, 13-29, 30-54; 2.1-11; 3.1-16; 4.20-38; and 5.26-37 with other passages, e.g. sections of *BG* 6, as supplementary reading.

The difficulty of framing this estimate brings up a matter arising in part from the authors' organization of the book and in part from the typography. A student leafing through pp. 313-328, e.g., will find the following headings with, for casual purposes, equal typographical emphasis: "The Concluding Events of the Campaign," "Medea Aids Jason with a Magic Ointment," "The Gauls Congratulate Caesar and Ask for a Council," "Jason Plows a Field and Sows a Dragon's Teeth," "The Hardships Brought on the Gauls by Ariovistus," and "Armed Men Spring from the Ground and Fight One Another." This braiding of subject matter may be justified on the grounds that high school pupils need to be cozened with cookies; yet, even so, the supplemental matter ought either to be assembled in one place or clearly marked as subordinate through the use of slightly less conspicuous type. The equation of Caesar and the Argonauts is further underscored (probably quite unintentionally) by presenting the customs of the Gauls, etc., under the heading of "Supplementary Story."

But despite this complaint about the emphasis of matters of different worth, the book is attractive in its composition and the authors have pointed up certain parallels of considerable interest, e.g. the maps of pp. 288 and 389 showing the invasion areas of Caesar in 56 B.C. and of Hitler in 1940-1942. Teachers who have utilized the first edition will undoubtedly be pleased by this one, and others will appreciate the op-

portunity to try younger wings in connection with the *Aeneid*.

*Selections from the Ars Amatoria and Remedia Amoris of Ovid*. With Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary. By GRAVES HAYDON THOMPSON. Hampden-Sydney, Va., 1952. (May be purchased from the author at Hampden-Sydney College, H.-S., Va.) Pp. xii, 152, and extensible vocab. \$2.75 (net \$2.25).

THE BASE of reading matter available in easily usable form for elementary classes has been very successfully widened by Mr. Thompson. He has taken 1594 easily translated lines from the *Ars Amatoria* and *Remedia Amoris* and published them in such a handy form, with such generous notes and helps, that probably any student who has been well grounded in a beginning text will be able to swim with enjoyment. The 200 or so most common words appear on an "extensible vocabulary sheet" inside the back cover (as in Pharr's *Aeneid*); all others are given as often as needed (i.e. almost as often as used) again and again, together with helps to translation and other comments, in footnotes. Quantities are not marked but every other need of the beginner (apart from grammar which the teacher can supply) seems to have been anticipated. There is a brief dedication (to "the ordinary student") and explanation and an introduction with biographical data about Ovid and some information about the poems excerpted.

Professor Thompson, basing his text more or less upon the Ehwald (1916) edition (p.v.), has made available some fifty pages of sparkling (and chaste) Latin. (The retention of the original line numbers will help the enterprising student find outside reading in the excised parts.) The only real doubt about the book is whether or not teacher and even class can enjoy such an unalleviated stretch of pure "sparkle." In any event, here is a usable edition of one of the books that made Ovid famous from antiquity onward—and the edition comes down well on the right side of the ledger.

*Selections from Ecclesiastical Latin*. Compiled by Sister ANNE STANISLAUS SULLIVAN, S.S.J. Philadelphia 18, Pa.: Chestnut Hill College, 1952. (May be

purchased from author.) Pp. (3), 93. \$2.00.

A PAPER-BOUND selection of passages in current liturgical use. Included are certain daily prayers, the Ordinary of the Mass, selections from the OT and NT, certain of the Gospels for the Christmas season, fifteen hymns, etc. There is no commentary, but students familiar with the liturgical setting of the passages (or who have read the scriptural passages in translation) will not be seriously handicapped. There is a 1500 word vocabulary to the 58 pages of Latin text. The book is intended as a review text for students (with two years of Latin) in high school, college, and novitiate classes. It is neatly prepared and should serve well in a parochial setting.

### FOR HIGHER LEVELS

*M. T. Ciceronis Cato Maior de Senectute Liber*. Cvravit, praefatus est, adnotavitque HENRICVS FRANCOIS. (Serie C: Colección de autores Griegos y Latinos: Vol. IX: Universidad de Buenos Aires: Instituto de Filología Clásica.) Buenos Aires: CONI, 1951. Pp. xi, 215, (2).

A RATHER de luxe edition with a number of reasonably clear full page illustrations on unnumbered leaves. The text is copiously annotated (in Spanish), especially with parallels from Greek and Latin literature, but not without excerpts from contemporary critical literature as well. There is a 101 page introduction concerned with the dialogue, Cato, Scipio, and Laelius, then a summary of the dialogue, followed by the text (with notes sometimes not too clearly impressed in the review copy) a bibliography of works cited, and indices. It seems to be a respectable summary of "learning's crabbed commentary."

*Cicerone: Il Processo di Verre*. A cura di NINO MARINONE. (Collana di testi latini e greci, diretta da Augusto Rosagnoli.) Verona: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1949. Pp. 141, (1). 280 lire.

A SIMILAR little school edition ought to be available in English. The introduction takes up Roman penal jurisdiction under the Sullan constitution (with numerous definitions of terms), the background of the Ver-

rine action and provincial administration at the time of Sulla. There is a chronological table showing in parallel columns the lives of Cicero and Verres, and a brief bibliography.

The body of the book is devoted to a sketch of the life of Verres; an analysis of the preliminaries to the trial; Cicero's *Div. Caec.* 1-35 and 66-73 (with a summary of the omitted section); a summary of the preparations for the trial; the text of *Verr.* 1.1-56; and the results of that speech. The Latin sections are well annotated.

A student who masters the contents of this little book will have received a good introduction to one of the most famous trials in history. The *divinatio* makes spicy reading at any time when, like the present, misdemeanors by those in political office have been in the public eye, and the first Verrine is always lively reading. Any parallel text for rather elementary use in our own schools should, of course, be supplemented, if possible, by a vocabulary.

M. Tulli Ciceronis *Pro M. Caelio Oratio*. Edited by R. G. AUSTIN, 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1952. Pp. xxxii, 163. \$2.00.

A COPY of the older edition (1933) was not available for comparison at this writing; so the editor's word is here taken for the changes made. Professor Austin, (pref. p. iii) calls it "a drastic revision." "The Commentary," he continues, "has been entirely rewritten. I have removed many inaccuracies, and have excised much irrelevant material to make room for more translation and additional notes. Previously I had scarcely touched on textual matters; now, by paying proper attention to the patient work of A. Klotz and others, I have been able to treat Clark's text with a measure of independence. I have corrected the biographical introduction, rewritten and considerably expanded the section on the Manuscripts, and enlarged the Bibliography. Appendix VIII ("Note on the Composition of the Speech") has also been rewritten.

The A. C. Clark (OCT) text is reprinted (without benefit of pagination, unfortunately) but a collation of the Clark and Klotz (1915) texts appears in the introduction (pp. xxiv-xxvii) and according to his commentary,

Austin prefers Klotz' readings in paragraphs 1, 6, 14, 16, and elsewhere.

This is a useful edition of the oration in which Cicero portrays the unforgettable Clodia in full color.

*Cicero on Himself*. Being N. FULLWOOD'S Selections Done into English by CHARLES GORDON COOPER. Melbourne: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1952. Pp. 25. 3s/9d.

THIS IS a set of 25 leaves, unbound, in an envelope and to be "supplied only to... any bona fide teacher for his own use or for use, under his supervision, by his pupils." It is a translation of Fullwood's *Cicero on Himself, Selections from the Works of Cicero illustrating his Life and Character* (London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd., 1950). Its purpose is to avoid the pitfalls of ponies, while enabling the teacher to make available, passage by passage, after the student has done all he can through his own efforts, a translation to serve "as a standard of comparison by which, at the final stage, the student may gauge the comparative accuracy and effectiveness of his own rendering" (p.1).

There is no doubt that a student can use a translation as a kind of teacher to correct his own failings and to improve his feeling for style; there is also no doubt that few students have the moral stamina so to do. These separate leaves should, in one specific instance, provide a useful answer to the problem posed by the above facts. And the translation is free enough, in elegant English, to mean that any student who gets his hands on it prematurely will still have to work to render the Latin closely enough to satisfy the demands of a rigorous instructor.

M. Tullius Cicero: *De Legibus*. Von KONRAT ZIEGLER. (*Heidelberger Texte: Lateinische Reihe*, Band 20.) Heidelberg: F. H. Kerle Verlag, 1950. Pp. 148, DM 2.90.

—: *Orator*. Von OTTO SEEL. (Id., Band 21.) Ibid., 1952. Pp. 156. DM 4.20.  
P. Terentius Afer: *Andria*. Von ANDREAS THIERFELDER. (Id., Band. 22.) Ibid., 1951. Pp. 121 (with separate *Glossar*, pp. 26). DM 3.90.

*Cornelius Tacitus: Germania.* Von HANS HAAS. Einleitung von KARL MEISTER. (Id., Band 23.) Ibid., 1952. Pp. 64; Map 1.

THESE HANDY paper bound texts are intended for use "bei Höheren Schulen und Universitäten." All contain indices of proper names which identify the persons or places in question more or less briefly. All have introductions or appendices which discuss in some detail the authors, their sources, the textual tradition and the influence of the work edited. The introductions to the first two volumes are more frankly concerned with sources and textual matters; the introduction to the last, with filling out the cultural background for young Germans of today; the 71 page introduction to the Terence covers a range similar to that of the introduction to the familiar Ashmore edition.

The text of the *De legibus* is complemented by a rather compressed, selective apparatus criticus. The apparatus of the *Orator* aims to present all genuine variants and is certainly more detailed than that of Wilkins in the OCT edition. The *Andria* and *Germania* are supplemented with lists which show where their texts differ respectively from the edition of Kauer-Lindsay and the Hersfeld codex.

The very casual examination which is the basis of these remarks indicates that these are all sound little textbooks, calculated to be extremely useful at their appropriate levels. The two Ciceronians fill the most obvious gaps in the armor of available and inexpensive texts. The other two can scarcely displace their British or native competitors in this country.

*An Introduction to the Latin Hexameter.* By CHARLES GORDON COOPER. Melbourne: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1952. Pp. x, 70. 7s/6d.

THIS IS INTENDED as "a reasonably comprehensive introduction to the Latin Hexameter, more particularly the Vergilian Hexameter" (p. vii). It is obviously a useful little manual.

The first section is devoted to syllable-division and problems concerning the quantity of syllables. Cooper, it should be noted, bases his scansion upon a consis-

tent system of syllable-division wherein the final consonant of a word is taken by liaison with the initial vowel of the word following. The quantity of any syllable can then be stated in terms of these dicta (p. 14): "An open syllable has the quantity of its vowel or diphthong. . ." and "All closed syllables are long, irrespective of the quantity of the vowels they contain." (See Richards' review of this work, CW 46 (1953) 123-124, for a further note on this.)

The second section takes up the hexameter as a metrical unit (including diaeresis, caesura, and other related matters). The third section, which is intended primarily for reference, contains the real and seeming abnormalities (e.g. hypermetron, hiatus, the retention of old quantities, etc.). The fourth section outlines the author's method for scanning and reading Latin verse.

This is a usable little book. Probably few teachers in this country would expect an average class in a secondary school to acquire all the technical information presented but the presentation is clear and the book can be useful for the exceptional student who should go beyond the appendix to his school edition of Vergil.

*Notes to the Agamemnon of Aeschylus.* By Sir FRANK FLETCHER. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1949. Pp. v, 79. 4s/6d.

THESE NOTES, which are rather fewer in number and less detailed than those in the edition of Sidgwick, are intended for use in connection with Murray's OCT edition (or any other which has a satisfactory apparatus criticus). They are concerned with immediate aids to interpretation, for the most part, but occasionally with textual problems. Despite the fact that the book is intended for "readers with a moderate knowledge of Greek" (hence probably with a very moderate knowledge of the background) there is no general introduction to either the author or the play.

This neither is, nor is intended to be, a definitive commentary but rather makes available a modest selection of aids to translation from some of the recent literature. It is not a major reference work but fills no little need, at that, in a day when inexpensive commentaries are not crowding the market.



# BOOK REVIEWS

*The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions.* Translated by CLYDE PHARR in collaboration with THERESA SHERRER DAVIDSON and MARY BROWN PHARR. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952. Pp. xxvi, 643. \$20.00.

THE THEodosIAN CODE is an official collection of imperial laws or constitutions, issued in 438; its contents range back from that date to 313 (or possibly 311). Supplementary to the sixteen books of the Code are the Novels, or new laws chiefly of the Western emperors during the period 438-468. The sixteen Sirmondian Constitutions, which were discovered by a French scholar of the seventeenth century, are for the most part the full texts of constitutions condensed for the Code. This body of legal material was much used by the German invaders of the West in the government of their Roman subjects; many constitutions are accordingly accompanied in our manuscripts by an "interpretation," drawn up in the next century after the issuance of the Code.

The value of this corpus may be suggested by asking the reader to assume that we suddenly found a similar collection of legal material for the last century of the Republic. The development of the Roman governmental structure, now only hazily known and subject accordingly to fierce, indecisive debates, would be remarkably illuminated; the social shifts and the effects of Greek civilization on Rome would become much clearer; in every respect in which

the law of a community throws light on its nature and aspirations such a collection of Republican laws and magisterial edicts would give us great help.

The Theodosian Code actually concerns a period which most students of the ancient world have tended to pass over lightly, and so its merits are not always appreciated. Its individual items are often brief and contradictory, for Theodosius II ordained that obsolete constitutions were not to be omitted; nor is the Latin of the Code always easily intelligible. In making the work accessible to the evergrowing number of historical students who know no Latin the present translation—the first into any modern tongue—is much to be recommended, and the agencies which underwrote its heavy costs deserve our thanks.

The fourth century, indeed, is increasingly recognized as a very significant period. The Empire by this time was an advanced structure of state socialism, in which the subject was locked in his place for the benefit of the inhuman, ruthless state; the laws which thus locked him, and tried in vain to freeze society in a mold are to be found in the Code. From this point of view, which is overstressed in the twin introductions by C. Dickerson Williams and Clyde Pharr, this volume is a bogeybook wherein scholars in many fields may read sad lessons for our own day. The period is also one in which the Empire proceeded inexorably to dissolution in the West, in which Christianity was first tolerated and then made the official



cult, in which the ancient structure of thought declined and a new one arose: all of these aspects, and many more, are illustrated in the imperial constitutions. One may cite, as examples, the exemptions of Valentinian I for painters (13.4.4), the bans by Theodosius I on pagan sacrifice (16.17.7ff.), the attempt of the same ruler to restrain his Christians, encouraged by the stand of Ambrose, from destroying Jewish synagogues (16.8.9).

The translation, which was submitted in whole or in part to a distinguished panel of consulting editors, is generally literal, at times too much so, yet it is successful in reproducing the sense of the original clearly and competently. The text, arranged in double columns on large pages, is to be praised for its legibility, and for the accuracy of proof-reading. Having given us so much, the editors might have gone yet further to justify their opening statement that "this book is complete in itself." The two introductions treat of the Later Empire too exclusively as a period of decline and tend to suggest that we must take the law as being the fact, whereas other evidence often shows that the fulminations of the rulers had less and less real influence on a steadily greater part of the population. Neither introduction discusses the manuscripts of the Code or its later use, the nature of law in this period (see p. 3, note 15) or the general development of law in the Empire, the origins of the interpretations (see p. 11, note 7). For these matters, the reader must turn elsewhere.

The notes, provided by the Pharrs and not checked by the consulting editors, are very numerous and fulfill many of the technical functions of such a commentary. When they pass beyond the

technical, however, they are not remarkably illuminating; and they do not properly cover the significant problems of dating and historical references. The dates as given in our manuscripts are quite often erroneous. The present edition gives first the conventional date and then proposed corrections; yet to understand the reasons for the corrections or to find the real date the student must repeatedly go beyond the notes to the commentary of Godefroy (to whom this translation is dedicated), the edition by Mommsen, Seeck's *Regesten der Kaiser und Papste*, or elsewhere. Thus, the battle of Adrianople is here still dated to 323 (p. 179).

Again, the fourth century is extraordinarily well lit by a great variety of contemporary records, both pagan and Christian. The notes rarely refer to the background against which specific edicts were issued; e.g., 13.3.6 as repealing Julian's ban on Christians as teachers, or 9.16.10 on trials at Rome (cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 28.1). Finally, one must be grateful for the glossary, bibliography, and careful subject index here provided, but still might have hoped for an index of constitutions according to their dates and an index of persons; for both, see Seeck, *Regesten*.

This translation, which has been in gestation since 1930, is the first volume in a great corpus of Roman law for English readers. The preceding strictures are not designed to deny its very great utility in unlocking a major source on an important period; and the present reviewer hopes the following volumes will not be long in appearing, with somewhat fuller scholarly accessories to the main text.

CHESTER G. STARR, JR.

University of Illinois

*The Origins and History of the Proconsular and the Propraetorian Imperium to 27 B.C.*  
By WILHELMINA FEEMSTER JASHEMSKI. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1950. Pp. ix, 174. \$5.00.

THE QUESTION which the reader of this journal might first ask would be the query as to the extent to which this book is superseded by T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (vol. XV, 1 of the Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association), which appeared in 1951, and by his second volume (vol. XV, 2 in the same series), which is scheduled to appear in 1952. The answer is that Dr. Jashemski and Dr. Broughton were aware of each other's projects, and that Dr. Jashemski undertook a more elaborate effort on a more specialized topic. The usefulness of Dr. Jashemski's book, therefore, is not diminished by the appearance of Dr. Broughton's masterly volumes, and her book will serve as a complement to his volumes for special points. Such books as these furnish basic information in a form which should spur interest in problems of the Roman Republic.

Sixty pages of Dr. Jashemski's book are occupied by Appendices in which she undertakes chiefly to present documented lists of promagistrates and governors of provinces. It is most convenient to be able to look down a page and to see the succession of governors in any particular province, although Broughton's volumes aim to furnish more information about the individual men.

The first ninety-nine pages of Dr. Jashemski's book deal with a subject naturally not discussed by Dr. Broughton, the subject of the origins and history of the proconsular and the propaetorian imperium.

In these pages is presented a detailed treatment of the growth and nature of the promagistracy. It is to be hoped that Dr. Jashemski will continue her researches and try to explain for us the meaning of these promagistracies in terms of practical politics, a topic which she could here only touch upon cursorily. It has been suggested meaningfully, as by F. B. Marsh in the first chapter of *The Founding of the Roman Empire*, that they began to be employed in the second century with the intention of limiting the number of men who held offices. It would create fewer members of the governing aristocracy, for instance, to have a certain number of praetors and a certain number of propaetors (who were ex-praetors) than to have just praetors contemporaneously in charge of all those functions.

Dr. Jashemski has shown that the idea of the promagistracy was already well established at a comparatively early date. Especially in view of the grant of promagistracies to competent *privati* (that is, to persons who had held magistracies but were private citizens at the time they were granted promagistracies, and in some cases to men who had never before held the *imperium*), it is imperative to decide whether Rome may have created this constitutional makeshift because of a shortage of competent governors such as she later experienced under the Empire (e.g., Tac. *Ann.* 6. 27). If the system of promagistracies under the Republic was merely a device of the ruling oligarchy, this reviewer finds it extraordinary that he can recall no attempt, as by the *populares*, to alter the system as a whole.

WALTER ALLEN, JR.  
*The University of North Carolina*

*Papyri and Ostraca from Karanis.* By HERBERT CHAYYIM YOUTIE and JOHN GARRETT WINTER. 2nd Ser. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1951. Pp. xxii, 266; 11 plates. \$12.50.

THE CONTENTS of this volume are limited to private letters (45 in Greek, 15 in Latin) and ostraca of various types. To the reviewer they brought pleasant memories, for many of them were found while he was a member of the excavating staff at Karanis, and it was his task to clean and read a number of them soon after they were uncovered. Although great care was taken to record accurately the places in which these papyri and ostraca were found, failure to take notice in publication of all the available information about them has caused some of the letters to be treated in the same fashion as material purchased from various dealers. I refer in particular to all those found in 1930 in house C123 (see Index of Inventory Numbers, page 262). Not only are these letters not grouped together in the volume but no cognizance is taken of the fact that they were found in what probably was the most important structure uncovered at Karanis, an immense public granary. Consequently their relationship with each other is missed, and the probability that one of the correspondents, a Roman of the Julian gens, was superintendent of the granary is overlooked. A study of all the papyri from this granary together with extensive information to be found in *Tax Rolls from Karanis* (P. Mich 223-5) might result in a most interesting history of a Roman family in Egypt.

Apart from this criticism I have nothing but praise for the volume. The extensive commentaries on the papyri are excellent, those on the ostraca are brief but adequate; there are complete indexes

for both Greek and Latin texts and the plates are remarkably good. Throughout there is maintained that high degree of perfection which is always associated with the name of Youtie.

Such a publication as this is usually of interest only to specialists and those whose concern is primarily with Egypt, not Rome. As a rule private letters are of limited scope, giving meager information about some obscure person or persons. But exceptions to the rule occur here. New facts concerning the cult of Sarapis are found in No. 511; specific information on the Roman army and interesting sidelights on army life appear in Nos. 465-68, and something about the process of induction into the Roman fleet is to be gained from No. 490. Consequently the Roman historian will look upon this volume as one of considerable importance.

VERNE B. SCHUMAN

*Indiana University*

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*Aratoris Subdiaconi De Actibus Apostolorum*,  
edited by ARTHUR PATCH MCKINLAY.  
*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 72 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky 1951). Pp. lxiv-363.

Here is another valuable contribution to the renaissance of interest in the Christian literature of the late empire and early medieval times. McKinlay has been assiduous in the examination of more than a hundred manuscripts which he has either collated completely or examined at important points, and the lavishness with which he presents the variants is characteristic of the important series in which this work has seen the light. Something less than 2500 lines of hexameters and elegiac distychs (these last in the three *epistolae ad Florianum, ad (Papam) Vigilium, and ad Parthenium*) comprise the text left us by Arator: the critical apparatus, testimonia, and analytical indexes, unusually full, plus similar material at the foot of each page, take more than twice as much space as the text itself. Especially helpful is McKinlay's practice of marking the quantity of such syllables as differ from the norm: in spelling he has usually followed the standards of such scholars as Keil and as Lewis and Short.

The poem here reprinted for the eleventh time is a hexameter paraphrase of the material found in the *Acts of Apostles*, interspersed with prose titles which summarize the respective sections of the poem. Such a work is of course not primary for theologians—it will be valuable chiefly for students of the period, displaying the sort of knowledge of the Christian tradition and the sort of interest in it which the Christians of the sixth century had. The immense amount of drudgery, eye-strain, and acumen which was poured out on Arator for more than twenty years will be rewarded if the book receives careful attention from students of the age which it portrays.

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While a *sinus* anciently might mean bosom, purse, any hiding-place, bellying of a sail, bay, valley, or the interior of almost anything; applying the term anatomically has been more recent. But colds were ancient. Horace could accept the Stoic paradoxes except when he had a cold in the head (*pituita*). Catullus had a cold (*gravedo*) and cough (*tussis*), to escape which he fled to the retreat (*sinus*) of his farm.

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